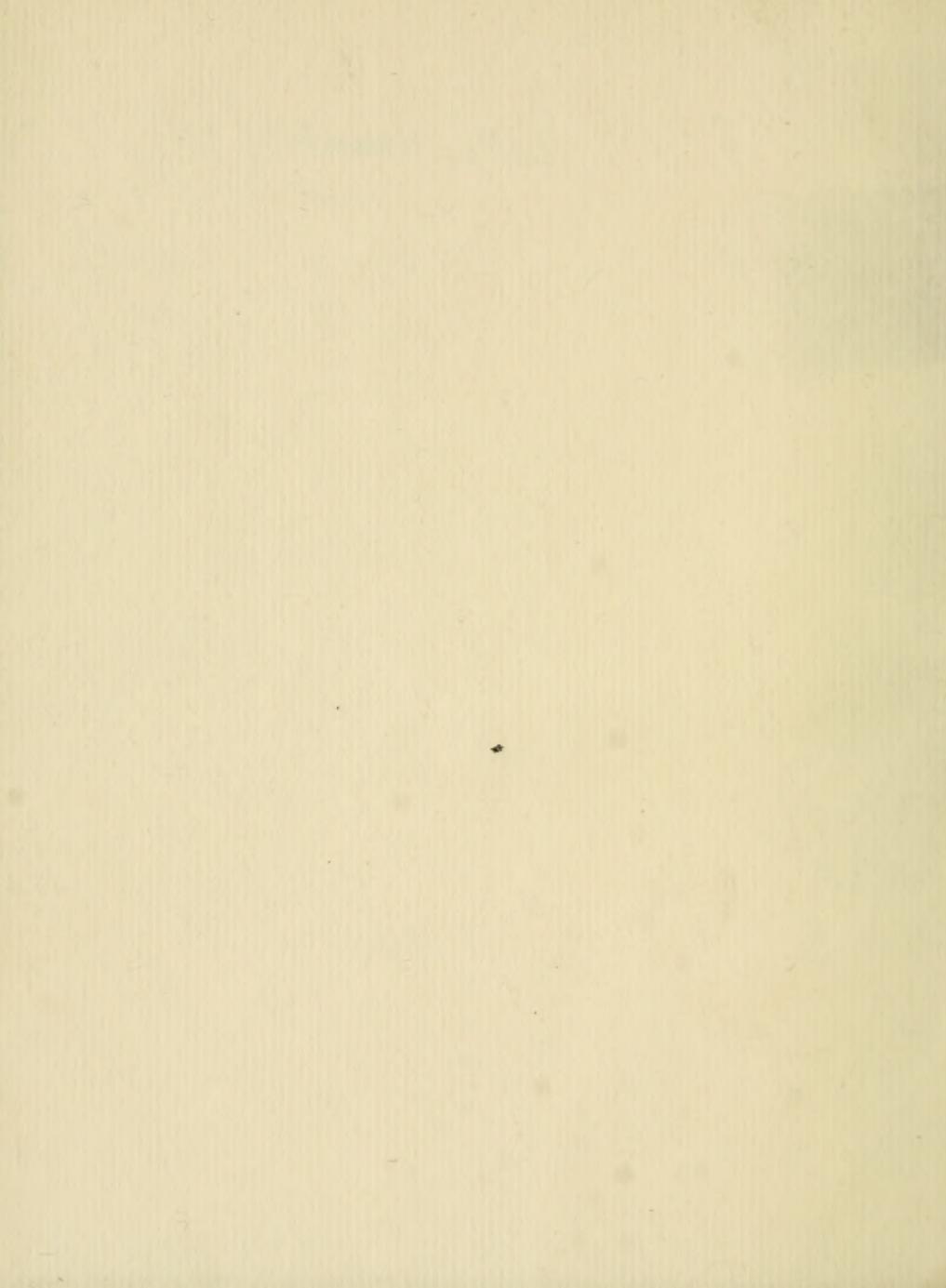


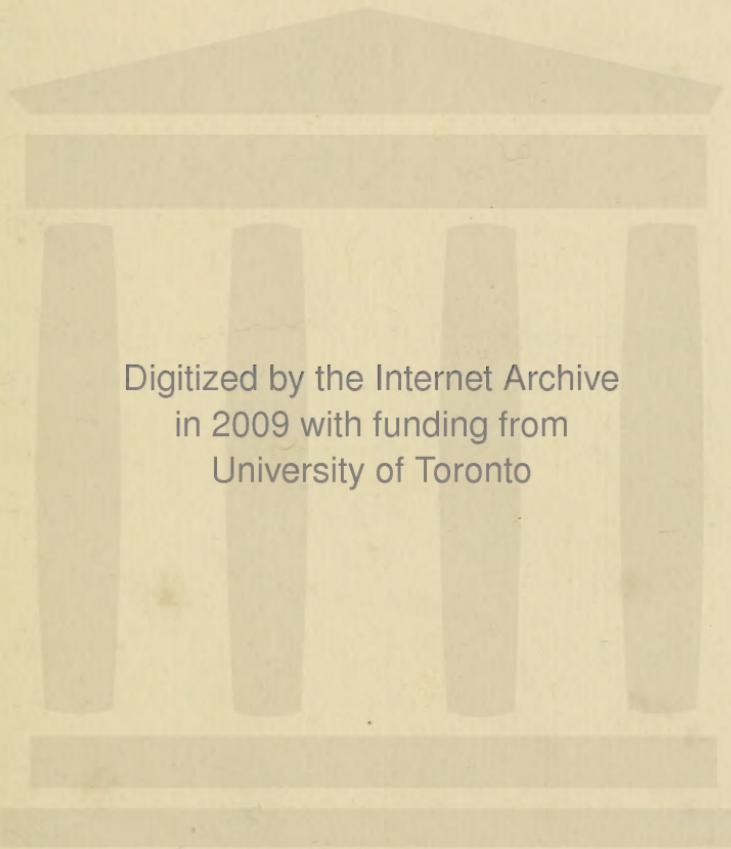
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W.P.M. Kennedy

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AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF THE
Wars of Ireland,
With a Continuation thereof.

In Two PARTS.

From the Time that Duke Schonberg Landed with an Army in that Kingdom, to the 23d of March, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$. when Their Majesties Proclamation was published, declaring the War to be ended.

Illustrated with Copper Sculptures describing the most Important Places of Action.

Together with

Some REMARKS upon the Present State of that Kingdom.

By **GEORGE STOREY**, Chaplain to the Regiment formerly Sir Tho. Gower's, now the Earl of Drogbeda's; An Eye-witness of the most Remarkable Passages.

L O N D O N :

Printed for **Ric. Chiswell**, at the *Rose and Crown* in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCXCIII.

WHITE-HALL,
APRIL 30. 1691.

LET this be Printed by Order of
the Right Honourable the Lord
Viscount *SYDNEY*, one of Their Ma-
jesties Principal Secretaries of State.

W. BRIDGEMAN.

A TRUE and IMPARTIAL
H I S T O R Y
O F
The Most Material Occurrences
IN THE
Kingdom of Ireland
DURING
The Two Last Y E A R S .
W I T H
The Present State of Both A R M I E S .

P U B L I S H E D

To prevent Mistakes, and to give the World a Prospect
of the future Success of Their M A J E S T I E S
Arms in That N A T I O N .

Written by *G E O R G E S T O R T*, an Eye-witness
to the most Remarkable Passages.

P A R T I . The Second Edition.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *Ric. Chiswell*, at the *Rose and Crown* in
St. Paul's Church-yard. M D C X C I I I .

TO

The R I G H T H O N O U R A B L E

CHARLES,

L O R D V I S C O U N T M O R P E T H ;

A N D

The R I G H T W O R S H I P F U L

S^t WILLIAM LEVISON GOWER; Bar^t

Both M E M B E R S of the

Honourable House of C O M M O N S :

These P A P E R S

About the A F F A I R S of I R E L A N D ,

A R E

H U M B L Y D E D I C A T E D .

THE P R E F A E C.

These Papers were not designed to be published, till after the surrender of the City of Mons to the French; for since there are some, and those too calling themselves Protestants, who upon all occasions make it their business to advance the Conquests of that King, and at the same time to lessen the Conduct and Success of His Present Majesty; representing his Affairs to be in such a Condition at Home, and his Army so insconsiderable in Ireland, that they presently from thence expect such a Turn of State, as, if it should happen, would certainly prove unfortunate and destructive to themselves, as well as other people; tho they have no mind, or at least do not seem to see it. I do not pretend (nor do I think it possible) to make such men sensible of the folly of their unaccountable Behaviour at this Juncture; only I think it a good Opportunity, to let Them and the World know the impartial Truth of the most material Passages of the Two last Campaigns in Ireland, with the true State of both Armies, as it stood in January last; which possibly, may serve to mortify all their Expectations from their Friends in that Kingdom. And as to the matter of Fact, I defie all the Enemies of our Government and Religion to contradict me; tho at the same time, I assure them, That I have done their Side all the Right that the thing it self will bear, and have concealed nothing that I think could make any way for their advantage.

But before I come to this, I will take the liberty to speak out, since I am to treat of an Affair that concerns all that value either the publick Safety, Honour or Peace of their Native Country; it being every day more apparent than other, that we are designed as a Prey to that Nation, to whom we nor our Fathers were never yet in Bondage. This is no vain and groundless Fear or Pretention, but the Reasons for it are many: Amongst the rest, take only these few.

First, The Late King, by his unhappy management, has given up the Cudgels to the French (whom it's not to be doubted, he had rather should govern the Nation, than those who at present do) by this means placing his own

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own Interest, and that of the English Protestants, in a diametrical opposition to one another ; since it's plain that unfortunate Prince has been made instrumental (and is so still) by the Zealots of the Church of Rome, to advance their Religion on the one hand ; and by his most Christian Majesty on the other, to promote his Glory. All the Care and Pains that has been taken of late by the Priests, in a Business of the greatest moment, was not to propagate King James's Family, but his and their own Religion ; for they value not the He and His Name perish, if their Work go but on : And (suppose the P. of W. really what our Adversaries would have him) who can ever imagine that a Successor, that there was so much pains taken about, will either be bred a Protestant, or made serviceable to that Interest ; especially, since he is taken out of the Kingdom, and put into the hands of the greatest Enemy to our Nation ? And as to the French King's part, can any one think, that he does all this out of a Principle of Honour and Love, for the re-establishing of King James ? All People know, that his Generosity extends no further than his Interest : Those that will not believe this, let them only look back upon his treatment of the same individual Prince some years ago ; for it's plain, that he has no other Prospect nor regard to Men and Things, but his own Greatness and Ambition ; not sparing even those of his own Persuasion, when they stand in his way : Every one sees that his Brother of Constanti-noble and he, agree much better than his Holy Father at Rome and he ever did, or are like to do ; because the former is more favourable to his Designs than the other. If then he falls out with him, whom his own Religion obliges to pay all Diference and Respect to, and honour as a Father ; what can Protestants, nay even English Papists themselves expect, but to submit to his Yoke, if they once give way for his Admission ? When the Late King appear'd all on a sudden last Summer in France, after the Defeat at the Boyne, it was observable, that though the French King was surprized at his Presence, yet he received him with all the seeming joy in the World ; thinking it not fit to discourage a Prince, whom he had still further occasion for. This has already been seen into by some great Officers, even in the Irish Army ; who begin to be at a stand how to manage, since they can have no other Prospect from the success of their own present Affairs, but future ruin to their Country.

Secondly, Suppose the War already ended, and the Late King sent into England, with all the Grandeur that France could afford him, and received here by the consent of every Body : Let the French King has a very large Bill to bring in, which he'll certainly pretend cannot be discharged with the Possession of Ireland ; what then can be more rationally intended, than that one day or other, England may be brought to a severe account for those vasts.

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vast Expences, and the non-repayment of them shall be a sufficient Pretence for a War, when he finds an Opportunity, tho King James himself sat at the Helm? For how easy a thing it is to break all Rules whatever, when a man has the Power in his own hand, is known to most men. Those then who favour him most, will only have the honour to be last devoured; and even those of his own Persuasion, will have cause to wish themselves, rather under a Protestant Prince, than a Popish Tyrant: We see further, That His Present Majesty has not declared it a War of Religion, but is linked in a Confederacy with a great many Princes of the Romish Church, that have all the same reason to dread the growing Power of France, who neither spares Protestant when he has an opportunity, nor a Papist when he can gain by it. And yet if we look narrowly into the thing, the present War of Ireland is both more difficult and expensive for him to support, than it is for England, both as to the distance of place, and multiplicity of other Diversions; for tho he's a great Prince, yet his Power is not without limits.

Thirdly, It neither was, nor is the Interest of Their present Majesties only that we are struggling for, but under them for the Liberties of England, and that against the most dangerous Enemy that our Nation ever had: this most men think themselves obliged to do, tho the King's natural Life should end to morrow (which God forbid, since for his own sake all that have had the honour to be Eye-witnesses of those Noble and Heroick Personal Actions of His Majesty, in pursuance of what he so generously undertook at first, dare, and will serve him even to death it self, what he pleases to command them) for the Quarrel is not, whether the Late King, or the Present, shall rule in England? but whether the French King shall have our Countrey, or we keep it to our selves? Neither is it only the King and Queen's Quarrel that we spend so much Treasure in, and lose those Men (as is frequently objected) but it's the King that makes himself a Drudge for ours (if I may so express it) running all Hazards, and suffering all Hardships possible upon that account. He was a rich and Great Prince before, and wanted neither Glory nor Power to have lived happy and magnificent; nor is it likely he had any Design to provide for his Posterity in what he did, since we are as yet deprived of so great a Blessing. And whatever may be called unnatural in this War, is for the Father of his Countrey to endeavour the depriving both his Natural and Legal Children of what God and Nature hath made them Heirs to.

Fourthly, King James might have been one of the greatest and happiest Princes in Europe, notwithstanding his Religion; and the Roman-Catholics enjoyed the same Privilege as to the exercise of theirs, that other Dissenters do at this day, if that would but have pleased them; but it was an odd

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thing to all men of thought, that the hundredth part of a Nation, (as the Papists are no more at best) should think to bring all the rest over to their Side, and that against both their Humours and Interests; but it's now plain, that the Affairs of England and Rome cannot be reconciled. And I would fain ask any Protestant, Whether in King James's time he would not have been willing with all his heart to have been secured from the approaching Danger? Or whether he thinks it possible this could have been done more easily, or more to the satisfaction of the Nation in general, than it was? But this is the mischief of it, we all would be out of harms way, but then every man must do it as he himself thinks fit, or else it all stands for nothing. If King William had made his entry through a Sea of Blood, this had pleased some People better, and made others more afraid; the Easiness of the thing was the greatest Providence in it; and yet by our fickle Factious Humours we begin to make it both more expensive and hazardous; but let us take heed, lest if we tread in the Steps of our Forefathers in Divisions and homebred Farrings, we also run the same fate in being subject to a Nation of Foreigners; and yet it's to be feared, that the real ground of some Peoples Discontents, is not, that they at first disliked the Present Government, but that they were disappointed in their hopes of some Preferment that they thought themselves best deserved: and yet, God be thanked, I cannot see any great Injury that those People can do to the Present Establishment, since the King, Parliament and People are all of a side; and as for the Malecontents, they are neither Popular nor considerable.

There is a Story in Josephus something parallel to our Case; that was, "The Jews were commonly very strict in the obserwance of the Sabbath; and amongst other Tenets of that nature, they held it unlawful so much as to defend themselves, tho' attackt by the Enemy on that Day; this their Enemies came to the knowledge of, and put them upon the trial, cutting a great many to pieces; which made the rest grant that it was lawful to stand upon their own defence, but not to press upon the Enemy, and they met with a second Disadvantage upon that score; but finding to their Cost the folly of such Conceits, it came at last to this, That when they were undertaken a third time out of hopes of like success; they not only defended themselves, but defeated their Adversaries most effectually. This Story I apply thus: That notwithstanding of late we have mixt Matters of Religion and Policy too much, and advanced the Arbitrary Power of Princes, by stretching the Doctrine of Passive Obedience beyond its due limits; yet let not our Adversaries believe that we want either Hearts or Hands to oppose a Foreign or Unlimited Power, and that too without either departing from the Principles of Religion, or so much as wavering in our Profession. Let those then that

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that will be fond of the Garlick and Onions of Egypt; for my own part, I cannot see how we can make one step backwards without the danger of being poisoned by them: For certainly there are several Questions now in hand not to be resolved by the Rules of our Church, but by our Legal Constitution, which in some Cases binds the Ecclesiastical it self. And for all that specious Objection which some People make, That our Laws, as well as our Religion, are against the Depositing Doctrine; Let it will endure no serious thought, That God has made so many Millions of People to be subject to the Humour or Interest of any one particular Man. For whatever has been said to the contrary of late, it's both agreeable to the Principles of Reason and Religion, that Salus Populi suprema Lex. Government no doubt is Jure Divino, of which if we were destitute, nil sane brutis amantibus præstaremur (says Melancthon); but then it's not necessary to have it terminated in this or that Individual; for tho it's an undoubted Truth, that any private person had better suffer Injuries, than hazard the publick Peace of his Country, by endeavouring to redress the same; and it cannot be lawful for every one to fly in the face of Authority, when he's injured, or at least thinks himself so; yet neither the Laws of Nature, Reason, or Religion, oblige us to sit still, and see the Fundamental Constitutions of our Country overturned, without any indeavour of ours to obstruct it: And tho there may be danger in endeavouring to stem such a Tide; yet I may go further, and say, That those People do not deserve Measures of Obedience, good Laws, but rather are the Betrayers of them, that dare not stand up in their just defence. We know that the Apostle bids us submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, and that there is no power but of God; but he doth not tell us, that either Tyranny, Slavery, or Oppression are from God, but that we may resist them for his sake, as well as our own; and certainly if the usurping an absolute Power above, and against all Laws, be not Tyranny, the seizing mens Freeholds, contrary to all Justice and Equity, be not Oppression, and the making ones Will the Law, in a Government which the wisest of men call Limited, be not reducing People into Slavery, I know not what such things mean. For in such a case, it is not the Law of a Countrey that deposes a Prince, nor the Religion that justifies it, but 'tis his own Act and Deed; for if the presenting to the People be but a Ceremony; yet, a Coronation Oath is not; and if a Prince can raise what Storms he pleases in his Dominions, without endangering his own Vessel at the same time, then such Consequences must undoubtedly follow, as make all other people actually his Slaves, not Subjects; but sure the greatest Priviledge of an English-man is to have the Law on his side, and his Religion by that Law made a part of his Property, which is a Blessing that few other Nations can boast of; and one main Reason why this has been continued so long to us, whilst other people groan under

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the Yoke of Arbitrary Power, is, Because we have the Sea between us and any Foreign Enemy, and consequently no pretence for a standing Army, in times of peace, to defend our Fronteirs against any sudden Invasion. An Army, no doubt, in times of peace, being the next step to Slavery: To say nothing of Inconveniences by this means brought into private Families, and the general Encouragement it gives to all sorts of Vice. So that upon the whole matter one should think, that none would be fond of King James, or his Government: unless they resolve at the same time, with the Burgers of Mons, to receive the French Girisons, and afterward become their eternal Slaves.

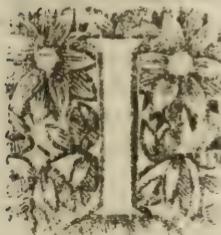
As to what I have said in the following Account of the Affairs of Ireland, I can affirm it to be true in the main, tho possibly I may be mistaken in some Circumstances: Nor do I pretend to write a compleat History of the War; That I leave to men of better Judgments, and more happy Opportunities; so that if this prove not advantagious, yet I hope it will produce what may, by inviting some more skilful hand to undertake the work, nothing of this kind being as yet abroad, except some little Pamphlets writ at random, by those, that (it seems) never saw that Nation. I have not writ the least Sentence out of prejudice to any man; but if any had affected the Profit more than the Duty of their Employments, and think themselves hinted at, in some general Expressions; I have only this to say, That as I would not flatter, so I am not of such a temper, as to fear any man, so far as to prevent me from speaking Truth; nor can I (as I hope) be blamed by any but those, who, having done ill themselves, take it not well to be told of it: But let even those examine their own Actions impartially, and they'll find I have been as sparing in my Expressions as I well could, and not conceal the matter of Fact, which a great many know the truth of as well or better than my self; and I am far from doing any man that injustice, as to charge him directly with a Crime, that I am not very well assured is due to him.

What I have said about the management of the Irish Army, is not barely our own Accounts, but what I got from several of their Officers, either Prisoners, or Deserters, or by other Opportunities, as design and chance brought me to them.

I pretend no importunity of Friends for the publishing of these Papers; for I am not so vain as to think they deserve it: However, I hope they will satisfy some, who have not yet had opportunities to know these things; and if this Account may be any way serviceable to them, I shall be glad of it; if not, they must e'en have patience till a better appear. As to the mixing some small matter of History with the rest, I did it because it pleased a particular Friend, tho my time will not allow me to do it in such a Method and Stile as the Dignity of the Subject requires.

1

AN IMPARTIAL HISTORY OF THE Affairs of Ireland.



N the Year 1660, when the Legal Administration ^{England an} of Government both in Church and State was happy King-
restored with K. *Charles II.* never was there any ^{dom at the} *Restauration.*
People more happy than the *English*; not only
secure from all Foreign Invasions by the Situa-
tion of our Country, and from all Oppression
at home by its Laws; but the Temple of *Janus*
was then shut, and we enjoyed an universal Peace

with all the World. And yet Prosperity in a few years becoming a ^{This disturb'd} Burthen to us, we took an occasion to quarrel with our Neighbours ^{by designing} Persons. *of Holland*, which several Wise men did then, and have since lookt upon, to be industriously begun and tomented by Cunning and Designing Persons of a different Interest and Persuasion, *to weaken the Protestant Interest in Europe*. Those unhappy Breaches however were made up, and open'd again; and then a good Understanding secur'd a second time, to the satisfaction of all that meant honestly.

The King was a man that loved to be easie, and please himself, ^{The Methods} by whose Example a great part of the Nation became in a small time ^{the French King} of the same temper, and the natural Hardness of the *English* was to a ^{took to Ad-} great degree softned: this was chearfully obserued by our Neighbouring Monarch, who failed not to incourage our King in his way of living, by contributing to his satisfaction in whatsoever he had a mind ^{vance his own} to be delighted withal; and in the mean time gave encouragement ^{Interest.} to our Ship-Carpenters and Seamen, both to build him Ships, and sail in them; and no wonder, for they had no busines at home. About fifteen or sixteen years agoe the French King sent a great part of his Fleet to the relief of *Messina*, and some other places in *Sicily*, which some then lookt upon as a Blemish in his Politicks; and yet it appears since, that this was none of the least depths of them; for by this, and such like means, he has got now a good Fleet, and expert Sea-men. ^{But}

The Duke of
York's mana-
ging.

But whilst these things were on foot abroad, the Duke of *York* had a Considerable Game to play at home: For tho' it's more than probable he was a Papist all along; yet to amuse the People he comes to Church; and considering that the Popish Party in *England* was by much the least of Three, things were so well managed on that Side, as to make the Protestants fall foul upon one another, not only with hard Names and Characters of Reproach, but in other Actions that seem'd more severe; by which means the Interest of both Parties was not only considerably weakned, but that of the Papists incredibly strengthned: Then what by the dexterous management of that of the Presbyterian Plot, and some improvements made of that by the *Observator*; by which the Popish Party obtain'd a great Reputation, (and people begun to think that the Devil is not so black as he is painted) in the height of which when (they say) some measures were thought of to reduce the D. of *York* and his Favourites, King *Charles* died.

King *James*
proclaimed.

The Duke of *York* was proclaimed King by the universal consent of all People, and afterwards as generously assisted in the *West*, as the Circumstances of the Nation would allow: But then when the Parliament came to address his Majesty, and beseech him, That for the satisfaction of the Nation, the Popish Officers and others might be removed from Places of Trust, and have competent Pensions allowed them; he gave a very positive Answer, which was, in effect, That they were his best Friends, and he would not be without them. After this, things grew every day worse than other; for then all mens eyes were opened, and every body could discern the Storm approaching. Accordingly the Rain came, and beat violently upon the House, but it being founded upon a Rock, thanks be to God, has stood. And as God often brings Light out of Darkness, and can by ways unthought of, or not look'd into by men, turn things contrary to what they design or intend them; so in the midst of our Necessities, he rais'd up an Instrument, who, by his Virtue and Wisdom contrived, and by his Valour put our Deliverance in execution. How prosperously this succeeded in *England*, is known to all the World; for besides the natural Inclination of the people to Variety, their general aversion to *Popery* made the thing at that Juncture very easy, tho' the Prince was then in a manner a Stranger to the Nation in general.

The State of
Ireland at that
time.

But tho' all things succeeded so happily for the Protestant Interest in *England*; yet there was a Cloud in *Ireland* that seem'd to threaten us,

us, if due care was not taken in time to disperse it. My Lord Tyrconnell, during the Late King's Reign, had been framing and modelling an *Irish Army*, that might be ready to serve the *Popish Interest* on all occasions, part of which was sent over into *England*, some time before the Prince Landed ; and after his being proclaimed King, my Lord Tyrconnell (having still a considerable Body of men in Arms) refuses to deliver up the Sword. Some say that it was not demanded from him ; and more, That he had been easily forced to it at first ; or at least, there might have been a Method taken to have persuaded him. But the management of this was entrusted to Major-General Hambleton, a profest Papist ; and so well did my Lord Tyrconnell and he, with some other, play their Cards, that they got Hambleton sent over, against the Advice of most that understood the Affairs of that Kingdom ; by which means succours were delayed, and Hambleton, as soon as he was safe in *Ireland*, was so far from persuading my Lord Tyrconnell to yield, that he ordered all the Horses that were left in Protestant hands, and fit for Service, to be seiz'd for the Late King's use, and treated those whom he believed King William's best Friends, at *Dublin*, very harshly ; for which Service he was made Lieutenant-General of the *Irish Army*.

But the Affairs of *England* did not admit of present Succours to be sent to the Protestants in *Ireland*, who now were groaning under several Afflictions ; for a great part of the old Army was disbanded, or sent into *Holland*, the Dutch were sent home, *and it's thought, some unseasonable Disputes and Heats about Matters of Religion, did no small disservice to the Publick.* There was also a hot Report about that time at *London* (and indeed all over *England*) that King *James* was dead ; which Report was only spread abroad by his own Party ; and several other such little Artifices were used, on purpose to make others more secure ; for shortly after we had a certain Account, that he landed from *France* at *King'sale*, in the *West of Ireland*, having about 1800 men with him.

This was on the 12th of *March*, and after some small time he came to *Dublin*, where he was received with all the Demonstrations of joy imaginable, by my Lord Tyrconnell, and all the *Popish Party*, who look'd upon him as their only Support, Champion and Deliverer ; tho' several of them have since changed their minds.

A little before this, the *Protestants in Ireland* were in daily expectation of Arms, Ammunition, Commissions, and some Forces from *England* ; and it's more than probable, that if they had got them, or not

Lieut. Gener.
Hamilton sent
over.

King *James*
lands in *Ire-
land*, March 12.

1689.

hop'd

March. hop'd for them, the Business had cost neither so much Blood, or Treasure, as since it has; yet some advised, not to make any shew of discontent, till they had an Opportunity, and were in a condition to make their party good, by the arrival of Succours from *England*: But the greater part, impatient of delays, begin to list Men, and with what Arms they could get, to make a shew of forming an Army. Against those in the *North*, Lieutenant-General *Hambleton* Rout at *Drum-* more, March 14. marched, with about One Thousand of the Standing Army, and nigh twice as many Rapparees, in a distinct Body; they met at *Drummore*, in the County of *Down*, and on the 14th of *March* the *Protestants* were routed with no great difficulty; and no wonder, for they were very indifferently provided with Arms, Ammunition and Commanders; nor was their Discipline any better: This was called afterwards, *The Break of Drummore*, (a Word common amongst the *Irish Scots* for a Rout). At the same rate were some others serv'd shortly after, at a place called *Killekeigh*, under one *Hunter*, and those that resisted had the same Fate, at several other places. In the mean time Major-General *Micarty*, by the same measures, and some little Artifices, brought the *Protestants* of *Munster* under the same Circumstances.

This gave occasion to King *James* and my Lord *Tyrconnell*, to take the Arms and Horses from all the *Protestants* of that Kingdom, except those that fled to *LondonDerry*, and some few that went towards *Inishilling*; but a great many that could get away, for either *England* or *Scotland*, made what haste they could, and in some few Weeks after, those that went that way, were actually shut up in *Derry*.

On the 25th of *March* they had Arms and Ammunition brought them by Captain *James Hambleton*; and all the World know they behaved themselves very well.

April 13. Succors sent to *Derry*. On the 13th of *April*, Collonel *Richards*, and Collonel *Cunningham*, were sent to their relief, with two Regiments, who came into the *Lough*, but returned without doing any thing, and were broke for their pains.

Maj. General *Kirk* in the *Lough*. Then went Major-General *Kirk* with his own, Sir *John Hanmer*'s and Brigadier *Stuart*'s Regiments of Foot; the Winds were cross, and the *Irish* fortified the River, that it was difficult to relieve the Town, and our Ship; laid at least two Months in the *Lough*; the poor Soldiers, as well in Town, as on Board, endured great hardships all this while: But the *Devonmouth* Frigat at length forced her way,

way, and the Siege was raised on the last of July. Some condemn the Irish Politicks mightily in sitting down before this Town, whenas if they had let it alone, the people would either have submitted of themselves, or however, they had been at leisure to have sent a part of their Army into Scotland, which was an easy thing, as then, to do, and would, no doubt, have hindered any Succours going over that year from England; but Providence orders all things, and rules the Actions, and disposes of the Councils of men accordingly.

July 31. Siege Raised.

The day before the Siege of Derry was raised, the *Iniskillers* Mackarty taken Prisoner. hearing of a Body of about Six Thousand of the Irish Army, commanded by Major General Mackarty, that was marching towards them; they very boldly and bravely met them nigh twenty miles from the Town of *Iniskillin*, and at a place call'd *Newtown Butler*, fought, and routed them, taking Mackarty Prisoner, killing and drowning nigh Three thousand, there being of the *Iniskillin-men* in all, both Horse and Foot, not above Two thousand; losing not above Twenty, and having about Fifty wounded. This Story seem'd to me at first very Incredible; but I was told, it partly hapned by a Fatal Mistake in the Word of Command amongst the Irish; for the *Iniskillin-men* charged the Irish Right Wing very smartly, which Mackarty perceiving, ordered some of his men to face to the Right, and march to relieve their Friends; the Officer that received the Orders, mistook, and commanded the men, instead of facing to Right, to face to the Right about, and so march; the Irish in the Reer seeing their Front look with their Faces towards them, and move, thought they had been running, and so without more ado, threw down their own Arms, and run away; the rest seeing their men run in the Reer, run after them for company, and were most of them cut off, or drowned in Boggs and Loughs; so unhappy may a small thing prove to a great Body of men: and at other times a little thing in appearance, proves very advantageous: For we read of a Roman at plough, who stood with his Ox-yoke in a Gap, and stopt the Soldiers that were running away; this made them face about, and win the Field; though, I believe, in that Action of the *Iniskillers*, as well as *Derry*, there was a great deal due to their Valour, and more to the Providence of God.

During these Transactions in Ireland, the King gives out Com- Forces raised missions in England to raise 18 Regiments of Foot, and four or five in England. of Horse for the Service of Ireland. Most of those had their Com- missions dated the 8th. of March, 168⁸₉, and the Levies went on with

July.

all imaginable speed ; for greatest part of them were raised, armed and clothed in less than Six weeks. I was in the Armories at the Tower when the Arms were to be delivered out to the new Levies, but there was not half so many there as would do it ; for the Arms were most squandered away, or lost, in the late hurry of Affairs ; and tho' several Proclamations were sent abroad to bring them in, yet His Majesty was forc'd to have most of his Arms out of *Holland*, which was both expensive and troublesome.

This Army was mustered, and disciplin'd as well as the time would allow ; My Ld. *Devonshire* and the Honourable Mr. *Wharton* being appointed Commissioners to view them in their several Quarters ; and in *July* most of them were commanded to *Chester*, in order to be shipt for *Ireland*. I am a stranger to the Reasons of State, why they went no sooner ; yet that that seems considerable to me, was, that my Lord *Dundee* had left the Convention at *Edinburgh*, raisng a powerful Faction for the Late King, in the *North of Scotland*, and the Castle of *Edinburgh* was not as yet surrendered by the Duke of *Gordon* ; it might not therefore be thought prudent, to part with an Army out of our own Kingdom, till the Danger were over from that Quarter ; so that it was the beginning of *August* before our Army got to *Chester*.

Most of them encamp't about a Week at *Nelson* ; and then on *Thursday* the 8th. of *August*, about Six a Clock in the Morning, His Grace Duke *Sconberg*, General of all Their Maj:ties Forces, Count *Salmes*, General of the Foot, and several great Officers more, with not Ten Thousand Foot and Horse, embark'd at *Hightlake*, for *Ireland*.

The Winds being crois, they lay on Board till *Munday* the 12th ; when at Four Clock in the morning, the Wind being S. S. E. and S. E. the *Bonadventure* Frigat (Captain *Hudson* Commander) fir'd a Gun, and put his Light in the Main Top-mall Shrouds, that being the Sign for sailing. There was also the *Antelope*, the *James Galley*, &c. The *Cleveland*, and the *Mornmnb* Yats, with between 80 and 100 Vessels more, who all were under sail at Six a Clock ; and at Eight the *Bonadventure* put out an Ensign in the Mizen-shrouds for all the Captains and Masters to come on board ; which done, they received Orders to sail directly to *Carifergus-Bay* in *Ireland* : In case of bad weather, so that they could not reach thither, to sail for *Louresa* in *Galloway* in *Scotland* ; and if they fell short of that, *Ramsay Bay* in the *Isle of Man* to be the place of Rendezvouz.

March to *Chester*.August 8. Encamp at *Nelson*, and then embark.

Tuesday.

Tuesday the 13th. at break of day, the greatest part of the Fleet was up with the Mountains of *Dundrum* in the County of *Downe*, (these are commonly called the Mountains of *Mourne*, and are said to be the highest in *Ireland*; on the top of one of the highest stood a famous Monastery in time of old.) About Three that Afternoon the Fleet came up the *Lough*, within a mile and a half of *Carifergus*; at Four they came to an Anchor in *Bangor* Bay, and immediately the General ordered his Flag to be put out at the Yats Main-yard-Arm, that being the Sign for landing our men, which was done accordingly; and they encamped that night in Fields adjoining to the *land in Ire-land*. *Shoar*; they lay upon their Arms all night, having frequent Alarms of the Enemies approach, but nothing extraordinary hapned; and yet if those of the Enemy that were in *Carifergus*, *Belfast*, *Bangor*, and the Adjacent Garisons, had attackt the Duke that night, it might have bred him no small disturbance.

Next day, being *Wednesday* the Fourteenth, the Duke continued still encamped, and the Garrison of *Carifergus*, apprehending a *rigergus burn* Siege, burnt their Suburbs: The day following the Duke sent a Party of about Two hundred and fifty men, commanded by *Sir Charles Fielding*, to see what posture the Enemy was in about *Belfast*; the Enemy was retired toward *Lisburne*, and *Sir Charles* with his Party returned to the Camp; and then the Duke sent Collonel *Wharton's* Regiment to take possession of the Place.

Friday the 16th. Lieutenant-Collonel *Caulfield*, of the Earl of *Drogheda's* Regiment, was sent with a Party of Three hundred men towards *Antrim*, who came there the next day, and found the Town deserted by the Enemy.

On *Saturday* the General marched with his Army to *Belfast*, from whence he sent out Parties, who took several of the Irish that were robbing and spoiling the Countrey: And *Tuesday* following being the 20th. five Regiments of Foot were sent towards *Carifergus*, encamping before the Town, and next day seven more went, who almost surrounded it; after which, some Cannon and a Mortar were planted, and also small Entrenchments begun. The Town desired a Parley, and sent out Lieutenant *Gibbons*, with Propositions in Writing: He presented them very submissively, and the Duke went into a Tent to read them; but when he found they desired time to send to the late King for Succours, or leave to surrender, he sent the Paper out, and ordered the Lieutenant to be gone, and then their Cannon plaid directly at the Tent where he left the Duke, doing

The General marches to *Belfast*.

And then to *Carifergus*.

August.

some Damage thereabouts, but the Duke was gone abroad. Our Cannon were as ready as theirs, for we begun to play upon my Lord *Denegall's* House in the Town, on which the Enemy had planted two Guns, which disturbed our Camp. Before next morning our men drew their Trenches several Paces nearer the Wall, which occasioned very warm firing on both sides all Night: We lost some men, and had two Officers wounded; and a Drummer, that made his escape over the Wall, gave the Duke an Account, that there were about thirty killed in the Town that Night.

Batteries
planted.

Thursday, the 22d. was employed in running the Trenches nearer; the Mortars and Cannon still playing upon the Town, and upon the Half-Moon that was to the Right of the Castle: This Day came a Fleet of about Fifty Sail into the *Lough*, which brought over four Regiments of Foot, and one of Horse. The day and night were spent in smart firing, four Regiments of Foot mounting the Trenches.

Friday the 23d. the Besieged desired another Parly, and would have marched out with Bag and Baggage, Drums beating, and Colours flying, &c. But the Duke would allow no other Terms, but to make them Prisoners of War. During this Parly, the Duke visited all the Trenches, and obſcrved the Walls of the Castle, and a poor *Dutch*-man was shot from the Walls, making his Returns to Reproaches against the Prince of Orange, our King, laying, That their King was a Tinker King, he had nothing but Brass Money; he was not nimble enough at getting off when the Parley was over, and so lost his Life for his Jeſts sake. After this the D^r k^e gave orders for the Engineers and Gunners to go on as vigorously as possible. Before we had only two Batteries, one on the Windmill-Hill (with Mortars) before the Castle, Westward; the other of four Guns, against the North-gate. The Duke then ordered a very large Mortar to be placed close under the Walls, upon a New Battery, near the Lord *Denegall's* House (with two Small Guns) which did great Execution: This Night was spent in continual firing of great and small Shot, and next morning the Town was all over smothered with Dust and Smoak occasioned by the Bombs; Collonel *Richards*

Coll. Richards
wounded.

was carried to *Belfast*, being wounded in the Trenches the Night before; and there was one Mr. *Spring* made his escape out of Town, who told the Duke, That all the Soldiers lay continually on the Walls, so that the Bombs only plagued the Protestants in Town; as also that *Mickarty Moor*, and *Owen Mackarty*, were the

the only two that hindered the Town to be surrendred ; and that they resolved, if we stormd the Town, to retire all to the Castle, in order to which they had laid in great store of Corn, Beef, Salt, and other Provisions proportionable: He gave also an account, that they were straitned for Ammunition, having only at first 30 or 32 Barrels of Powder, with other things suitable. This Afternoon several of them were observed to be very busy on the top of the Castle ; it was believed at first they were planting Guns there, but we understood afterwards, that they were pulling off the Lead to make Bullets.

Sunday the 25th. The Siege continued, and the Breaches were Breaches in- made wider, particularly one a little to the East of the North-gate ; creased. and yet the *Irish* were very industrious in making up at Night, what we beat down in the day.

Next morning our Guns plaid furiously, and the Breach (notwithstanding all their cunning) was increased ; which the *Irish* seeing, and fearing that our men would enter, they found out this Stratagem, (viz.) They got a great number of Cattel, and drove them all as near the top of the Breach as they could force them to go, keeping themselves close behind them ; and this served in some measure to secure the Breach ; for several of the Cattel were killed by our shot, and as they fell, the *Irish* threw Earth, Stones and Wood upon them ; but this they thought would not hold long, and so they desired another Parley, which the Duke would not hear of, but ordered the Mortars and Cannon to play without ceasing, and the Men of War had orders to play their Guns from the Sea upon the Castle, which so terrified the *Irish*, that at Six a Clock next morning they put out their white Flag again, and sent their Proposals to the Duke, which at length he agreed to, having more basiness before him, and the Season of the Year beginning to alter. He gave them leave therefore to march out with their Arms, and some Bag-
gage, and they were to be conducted with a Guard to the next ^{Garison} rendered. *Irish* Garison, which then was *Newry* ; Collonel *Wharton* at the Parley lay before the Breach with his Regiment, and was ready to enter, when the Duke sent to command his men to forbear firing, which with some difficulty they agreed to, for they had a great mind to enter by force. When firing ceased on both sides, several of our Officers went into Town, and were treated by the *Irish* with Wine and other things in the Castle, and the Articles were scarce agreed to, till *Mackarty Moor* was in the Duke's Kitchen in the Camp, which

August.

which the Duke smiled at, and did not invite him to Dinner; saying, If he had staid like a Soldier with his Men, he would have sent to him; but if he would go and eat with Servants in a Kitchen, let him be doing.

When we took possession of the Stores, the *Irish* had but one Barrel of Powder left, tho some say they threw several more into the Sea to save their Credit.

On Wednesday the 28th of August, about Ten a Clock, the *Irish* marched out, and had Sir William Russel, a Captain in Collonel Coy's Regiment, with a Party of Horse, appointed for their Guard; but the Countrey people were so inveterate against them (remembering how they had served them some few days before) that they stript most part of the Women, and forced a great many Arms from the Men; and took it very ill that the Duke did not order them all to be put to Death, notwithstanding the Articles: But he knew better things; and so rude were the *Irish Scots*, that the Duke was forced to ride in among them, with his Pistol in his hand, to keep the *Irish* from being murdered. The poor *Irish* were forced to fly to the Soldiers for protection, else the Country people would certainly have used them most severely; so angry were they one at another, tho they live all in a Countrey. However, this was laid at the General's Door, by the great Officers in the *Irish* Army, and they would say, That he had lost his Honour, by engaging in so ill a Cause. The Governoour of the Town was *Mackarty Moor*, but *Owen Mackarty* had a great Ascendent over both him and the Garrison. The Garrison consisted of two Regiments of Foot, lusty strong Fellows, but ill clad, and to give them their due they did not behave themselves ill in that Siege.

They had about One Hundred and Fifty killed and wounded in Town, and we had near that number killed, and about Sixty wounded. The Town it self is not very strong, but the Castle is considerable; it stands upon a Rock, and has its Name from *Fergus*, the first King of *Scots*, who first brought the *Irish* into *Britain*, and was drowned in this Bay, (as *Caribden* tells you). However, it's one of the most important Places in the North of *Ireland*, and the taking of it gave an hopeful prospect of future succets.

The Duke put Sir *Henry Inglesby*'s Regiment into *Carigfergus*, and on Wednesday the 28th, and the day following, the Army marched to *Belfast*, where they Encamped about a mile beyond the Town. On Friday Duke *Schonberg*'s Regiment of *French Horse*, consisting

The *Irish*
march out.The number
of the Dead
on both sides.The General
returns to *Bel-
fast*.

sisting of 500 men, came to the Camp, and on Saturday, the last of August, the Army was mustered, being as follows ; Horse, my Lord D. v. mshire's Regiment, my Lord Delamere's, Coll. Coxs, Duke Schonberg's; and Coll. Levison's Dragoons. Foot ; One Battalion of Elew, Dutch; Carleson's White, Dutch; Coll. Beaumont, Coll. Wiberton, Lord Drogheda, Lord Lisburn, Lord Meath, Lord Roscommon, Lord Lovelace, Lord Kingston, Duke of Norfolk, Coll. Herbert, Sir Edward Deering, Sir Tho. Gower, Coll. Earle, La Mellionier, Du Cambon, La Calimott.

Whilst the Duke staid at Belfast, there came a Letter to him by a September 1. A Letter sent from the D. of Berwick. Trumpet from the Duke of Berwick; but 'twas return'd un-open'd, because it was directed only, For Count Schonberg; the Duke saying, That his Master the King of England had honoured him with the Title of a Duke, and therefore the Letter was not to him. This is a piece of State that has been often practised amongst Great Men; for when King Edward the III. sate down before Tournay in France, he sent to the French King, whom he saluted only by the name of Philip of Valois; challenging him to fight a single Combat to prevent Bloodshed, or with 100 men each; and if those methods did not please, then within ten days to join Battel with all their Forces near Tournay : To which Philip made no direct Answer, alledging, That the Letters were not sent to him, The King of France, but barely to Philip of Valois; yet he brought his Army within sight of the English; and by the Mediation of King Philip's Mother, and two Cardinals, a Peace was concluded till the Midsummer following.

But to return ; Our Artillery-Horses were most of them as yet at Chester; and therefore the Duke gave Orders for greatest part of Our Train sent by Sea to Carlingford. the Train to be Shipt, and the Fleet to sail with those, and all Necessaries for the Army, to Carlingford-Bay, within Eight miles of Dundalk: And then on Monday the second of September, we marched beyond Lisburn; this is one of the prettiest Inland Towns in the North of Ireland, and one of the most English-like places in the Kingdom; the Irish name is Lisnagarvah, which they tell me signifies the Gamblers-Mount; for a little to the North-East of the Town there is a Mount, moated about, and another to the South-West; these were formerly surrounded with a great Wood, and thither resorted all the Irish Out-laws, to play at Cards and Dice; one of the most considerable amongst them having lost all, even his Cloaths, went in a Passion, in the middle of the night, to the House of a Nobleman in that Countrey, who before had set a considerable Sum

September. Sum on his head ; and in this mood he surrendred himself his Prisoner, which the other considering of, pardon'd him ; and afterwards this Town was built, when the knot of these Rogues was broke ; which was done chifly by the help of this one man ; the Town is so modern however, that *Cambden* takes no notice of it.

On *Tuesday* the 3d. we marched through *Hilsborough*, a place where the Enemy before our coming, had kept a Garrison, near which, on the High-way side, were two of our men hanged for Deserting ; that night we encamp't at *Drummore* (the place where Lieutenant-General *Hamilton* routed the Northern Protestants) ; the Inhabitants had all or most of them left the Town ; and there was not so much as a Sheep or a Cow to be seen ; our small marching Train came up with us here from *Belfast*, and here the General had an account, That the Duke of *Berwick* was at *Newry*, with about 1700 Foot and Dragoons, and two Troops of Horse, designing to defend that Pafs.

We Encamp
at *Drummore*.

At *LoughBrit-*
land.

Wednesday the 4th. we march'd to *Loughbritland*, where we encamp'd in Two Lines (as from the beginning) upon the side of a Hill, beyond the Town ; the Inhabitants had deserted this place also, and what little Corn there was, some lay reapt and not bound up, and the rest was spoiled for want of management. As our Army was marching up, I went Three miles beyond the Camp, where I met with the *Iniskilling* Horse and Dragoons, whom the Duke had ordered to be an Advance-Guard to his Army. I wondred much to see their Horses and Equipage, hearing before, what Feats had been done by them ; they were three Regiments in all, and most of the Troopers and Dragoons had their Waiting-men mounted upon *Garrons*, (those are small *Irish* Horses, but very hardy) some of them had Holsters, and others their Pistols hung at their Sword-Belts : they shewed me the Enemies Scouts upon a hill before us ; I wist them to go and beat them off, and they answered, With all their hearts, but they had Orders to go no further, than where they saw the Enemies Scouts ; tho they seem'd to be dissatisfied with it ; and added, *They should never thrive, so long as they were under Orders.*

And yet if those men had been allowed to go on in their old forward way, it's very probable they might have saved the Town of *Newry* from being burnt ; for the Duke of *Berwick* was then in it ; and a Troop of the Enemies Horse advanced that afternoon, some three miles from the Town towards us ; but seeing the *Inniskillers*, they retreated

treated in haste to the Town, only leaving some few Scouts to bring a further account of our motion. Those in the Town were startled at the news, and made ready to march off; but seeing no Enemy approach, they took time to set it on fire, and take all the people, with whatsoever was valuable, along with them: They went away about Sun-set, and next morning came to *Dundalk*, where we heard that some of their great Officers express themselves very melancholly, as if they had but small hopes to withstand the *Engl^{is}*.

The General not knowing that the Town of *Newry* was burnt, nor that the Enemy had deserted the Pass, gave Orders for 70 men out of each Regiment of Foot, in all 1200, with a Party of Horse and Dragoons, and four Field-pieces to be ready to march by three of the Clock in the morning; this Party was commanded by Coll. *Wharton*, and was designed to attack the Enemy, whom we expected at the end of the Town, there being an old Church, with several other convenient places, from whence they might prevent our marching; nor could we well go about, without a great deal of trouble, and several days march, and then we must leave the Enemy on our Reor, which was not to be done. The Party marched according to Orders, and the whole Army followed about Six of the Clock: But on our march, the Duke had an account by one Mr. *Humphreys* of *Belfast*, That the Enemy had retreated, and burnt the Town; the General then went forwards, and found the Flames not quite extinguished; and with Coll. *Levison*'s Dragoons, and some of the *Iniskillin* Horse, he went at least two miles further; but nothing of an Enemy appearing, he returned, and gave Command for his Army to encamp a mile short of *Newry*. The bad weather had disturb'd us before, but now the Rains and Wind were so extreamly violent, that it was very difficult for us to pitch our Tents; so that every one was forced to shift for himself as well as he could; Provisions were also very scarce, for there wanted Horses to bring them after us. We encamp't here next day also; from whence the Duke sent a Trumpet to the *Irish*, to let them know, That if they burnt any more Towns, he would give no Quarter. I went abroad into the Countrey, where I found all the Housies deserted for several miles; most of them that I observed, had Crosses Customs of on the Inside, above the Doors, upon the Thatch, some made of the Native Wood; and others of Straw or Rushes, finely wrought; some *Irish*. Houses had more, and some less: I understood afterwards, that it

September.

We march to
Newry.

September.

is the custom among the Native Irish, to set up a new Cross every *Corpus Christi* day; and so many years as they have lived in such a House, as many Crosses you may find; I asked a Reason for it, but the Custom was all they pretended to: Here the Corn also was either lying, and rotting on the ground, or else was shaken by the violent Winds, for the People were all gone, the Protestants the *March* before, and the *Irish* now, at the retreating of their Army, some fled for fear, and those that had a mind to stay, were forced away by the Army, with all their Cattel, and whatever else was portable. In the Evening the Duke sent a Detachment of 520 Foot, with a Party of Horse and Dragoons (commanded by my Lord *Lisburn*) towards *Dundalk*; they got there the next morning, but found it forsaken by the Enemy, and not burnt; tho' it had been better for us if it had, as it fell out afterwards.

There is an old square Tower in *Newry*, which they call the Castle, this was left standing, and not above five or six Houses more; the Town it self had been a pretty place, and well built, standing upon a very advantageous Pass, the Tide coming up above the Bridge, by a Bay that comes from *Carlingford*. In this Castle the *Irish* had left some salt Beef and Herrings, but they were salted so very much after the *Irish* fashion, that the Soldiers for all they were very hard put to it for Victuals, yet they could not eat them; (I believe the greatest reason was, a fond conceit they had got amongst them, that the meat was poisoned:) There was also a small Gun left in the Castle, and another Twelve-Pounder thrown over the Bridge into the River. In this Castle the General left Fifty men of Sir *Tho. Gowers* Regiment, commanded by Captain *Palliser*;

and on Saturday the 7th of September the Army marched to *Dundalk*; in our way thither we found two Redoubts, nigh a place called the Four-mile-house; for *Mareschal de Rose*, the French General, was at *Dundalk* some time before our Army approached, and enquiring whether the River was fordable, he found it was in several places; then he went on to *Newry*, and finding it a convenient Pass, he ordered it to be defended, at the same time commanding those Redoubts to be made, which if the Enemy had mann'd, they might have given us no small diversion; for there are vast Mountains on each hand, and a Bog between them, through which there was only a Causeway with a deep Ditch, and a small Stone Bridge about the middle of it, at the further end of the Causeway, the Forts were placed a convenient distance one from another, from whence

The Army
marched to
Dundalk.

the

the *Irish* might easily have retired, if we had forced the Pass ; for *September*. neither could our Horse follow, nor knew our Foot how to tread the Bogs after them : This place was formerly very woody, and was fortified by *O Neale*, Earl of *Tyrone*, against Sir *Charles Blunt*, Lord Deputy, which he found great difficulty in passing ; but next year he built a Fort some two miles nearer *Dundalk*, called *Moyery Castle* : The Countrey between *Newry* and *Dundalk*, is one of the wildest places of all *Ireland*, being the haunt some years ago, of the famous *Tory*, *Redman O Hanlon*, whose Ancestors were wont to brag that they were Standard-Bearers in times of old, to the Kings of *Ulster*.

We Encamp't about a mile on this side the Town of *Dundalk*, in a *Our encamp-*
low moist Ground, having the Town, with the River, towards the *ing there.*
West between us and the Enemy ; the Sea towards the South, the *Newry* Mountains to the East, and toward the North were Hills and Bogs intermixt ; the Protestants that were left there, told us, the *Irish* boasted when they went away, that they would drive us all back into the Sea again, or else we would die of our selves, the *Eng-*
lish not being used to the Field, especially in a strange Country, and at that time of the year. At our coming thither we got about 2000 of my Lord *Bedlow's* Sheep, which came in very good time to the Army, for it had gone hard with us before for want of Provisions ; however Bread was so scarce, that the General gave Orders, that what there was, should be for the Men, and not for the Officers, (because he judged they could shift better.) It was also ordered the first night we came there, That an Officer, with a Party of men out of every Regiment, should go back and take up what men they met withal upon the Road sick, for several were beginning to faint already, by reason of the bad weather, and constant marchings, and want of Provisions.

Gasper de Coligny, sometimes Admiral of *France*, and one of the most knowing Men of his time, was wont to say, *That War is a great Monster, which begins to be formed by the Belly* ; meaning, that Food ought to be the very first care of a General for his Army ; this Duke *Sconberg* knew as well as any one ; and now (his Ships not being come) he takes part of his Train-horses to send for Bread.

On *Sunday* the *Eighth*, Major General *Kirk's* Regiment, Sir *Jo. Maj. General Hamner's*, and *Brigadier Stuart's* join'd us ; and that Afternoon we *Kirk* joins the had a Report, that a Party of my Lord *Delamere's* Horse were sur- *Army*.

September. rounded by the Enemy, but it proved false; for there were none of them within ten miles of us.

Mond^y the 9th, The Soldiers had Orders not to stir out of the Camp on pain of death, for they itragled abroad and plundred those few People that were left, and some of them were murthered by the Rapparees; a word which we were strangers to till this time. Those are such of the *Irish* as are not of the Army, but the Countrey People armed in a kind of an hostile manner with Half-pikes and Skeins, and some with Sythes, or Muskets. For the Priests the last three or four years past would not allow an *Irishman* to come to *Ms*, without he brought at least his Rapparee along; that they say in *Irish* signifies an Half-stick, or a Broken-beam, being like an Half-pike; from thence the Men themselves have got that name; and some call them *Cresughts*, from the little Huts they live in: These Huts they build so conveniently with Hurdles and long Turf, that they can remove them in Summer towards the Mountains, and bring them down to the Vallies in Winter. I went this Afternoon with some others to *Carlingford*; (this is a little Town on the Sea-side some eight miles backwards from *Dundalk*) there being an excellent Bay here, our Ships had orders at *Belfast* to sail thither; (there had been a small Town (and it was known in Q. Elizabeth's time by reason of a Defeat that Sir *Henry Dockwra* gave the *Irish*, not far from hence) but the *Irish* about the time they burnt *Newry*, burnt this also, only there stood five old Ruinous Castles upon the Shore, and a prodigious Mountain hung almost over these into the Sea.) Our business was to see if our Fleet was come, or at least in sight; but a small Fisher-boat was all the Fleet this place afforded at that time, nor had we any Ships there for several days after.

Late King's Army at Drogbeda. By this time the General had an Account, that part of the late K's Army was at *Drogheda*, a considerable Town on the Sea-side, sixteen miles from *Dundalk*: One of the Enemies Ingineers came over to us, who told the Duke, that the Enemy was drawing together as fast as they could, but that they could not make above 20000 well-armed men. You must know, that every body who knew Duke *Schonberg*, believed he would not come into *Ireland* without a good Army, and in all respects well provided, and fame had made our Army twice as many as they were: The *Irish* Army was likewise harassed by being at *Derry*; and several of them, both Horse and Foot, were gone into the Countrey to Recruit; so that when we came first to *Dundalk*, they were in such disorder, that most of them retreated beyond *Drogheda*;

September.

Drogheda ; and I was told since by some of themselves, that they had not at that time above 8000 men in a Body : Mareschal *De Rose* was very much concerned at this, and he with some others, were for deserting *Drogheda* and *Dublin*, and retreating towards *Athlone* and *Limerick*, as they did this year : This my Lord *Tyrconnel* heard of, where he was sick at *Chappell-Izzard*. and went immediately to *Drogheda*, where he told them, that he would have an Army there by the next Night of 20000 men, which accordingly proved true, for they came in from *Munster* on all hands. But when *De Rose* heard that Duke *Schonberg* halted, he was sure (he said) that he wanted something, and therefore advised to make what haste they could to get their Army together ; and a day or two after that, some part of their Army mov'd towards *Ardee*. (This is a small Town between *Drogheda* and *Dundalk*, where my Lord *More*, and Sir *Henry Titchburne* defeated a Party of the *Irish* in the late Rebellion) : The People here are most of them Protestants, so that when the *Irish* retreated towards *Drogheda*, they expected the *English* Army, and therefore they provided great quantities of Ale, Bread, and other Provisions, for the Soldiers ; but the *Irish* Army returning, it was all seized by them, several of the poor People stript, and some of them glad to save their lives by flying in the night to our Camp. Whether it was that the General did not expect the Enemy to advance towards us, or at least that they would not come to encamp so near us, or what other Reasons he had, I am not able to judge ; but since it happen'd we stay'd there so long, in all appearance here was a good Opportunity lost in not sending to *Ardee* for all this Provision, as also in not getting in, or at least in not destroying the Forage between *Ardee* and *Dundalk*; for when the Enemy came, and late down by us, they got a great quantity of Forage between our Camp and theirs, and burnt a great deal afterwards before our Faces ; but they say that was the first thing the General order'd, to cure all the Forage, or at least make it unserviceable to the Enemy.

But to return to our own Camp. Monday the 9th, in the Afternoon, Coll. *Coy* went out with a Party of 200 Horse to scour the Countrey, but met with none of the Enemy, for they were in a doubtful Condition what measures to take. The 10th. little hapned of moment, only the General rid out to observe the Countrey ; the Popish Chappel in Town was made a Store-house, and amongst other Papers of like nature, I found one that some time before had been

Coll. *Coy* sent abroad with a Party.

September.

been given to the Priest, *To pray for the Shoule of Brian Rhode.* The 11th, There came a Gentleman from the Enemy, who told the Duke, that their numbers were not so great as was reported; and the Trumpet returned that was sent formerly to the Duke of Berwick, for they kept him on purpose for some days, that he might not give an Account of their Condition till their Army was got together.

Thursday the 12th, it was given out in Orders, That Forage should be fetched from beyond the Town towards the Enemy, and that if any Soldier would thresh Corn, and bring it to the Commissary, he should be paid for it the full value: The Majors were ordered to see the Arms of their respective Regiments kept clean, and the Soldiers to leave off firing in the Camp, because that some unskilful Fellows had done mischief to our own men: That none of the Soldiers should Rob or Plunder the Countrey-people, and that there should be a Reserve-Guard appointed in every Regiment, consisting of a Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, and fifty men, to be always ready to draw out upon all Occasions.

Bread brought to the Camp. Friday the 13th, Two Hundred and Four Load of Bread came to the Camp, and four Ships came to *Carlingford*: A Report was in the Camp, that our Horse, who went a foraging in the morning, were engaged with the Enemy, which occasioned the General to ride out, and all the Collonels that were in the Town, were ordered to the Camp; but the busines was only thus, A Party of the Enemies Horse appeared at a distance, whilst a Party of ours, and some of Collonel *Levison's* Dragoons were tying up their Forage, upon their Horses; our men seeing the Enemy appear, threw down their Forage, drew up, and march'd to meet them; as our men advanc'd, they drew back, till they were out of sight; when our men had got up their Forage again, the Enemy appeared a second time, and so a third, till a greater Party of Horse went out: After this, the Duke always ordered a Party of One Hundred Horse to cover the Foragers whilst they were at work.

The Duke goes to *Carlingford*, but few Ships as yet arrived. Next day the Duke went to *Carlingford*, longing to see the Fleet; but only four Ships were come, and those the night before; the Weather then was very tempestuous, and orders were given out how the men should receive their Bread; this was very good News to them, for it had been very scarce ever since we left *Belfast*; but to say truth, the Bread we had then, and during our stay at *Dundalk*, was full as good in its kind, as any we have had since. In the Evening

ning we had News, that the *Irish* Army was come as far as *Ardee*, and part of them to the Bridge of *Slane*, within three Miles of us; where they encamped, and where their whole Army staid afterwards for some time. This Evening it was given out in Orders, That none that went a foraging should pass the Horse Out-guards, and that the Horse might cut Wood for their Stables, and also the Foot for their conveniency; so that this was the first publick appearance of our staying here. Then the Report of the *Danes* coming was first spread abroad, and that we deferred meeting the Enemy upon that account; about this time also landed Collonel *Viller*'s Regiment of Horse, having suffered much in a Storm, and lost one hundred and four Horses. In two or three days most of the Wood about Town, as also most of the Fruit-Trees in my Lord *Bedloe*'s Orchard were cut down. And

Sunday the 15th, it was ordered that a Collonel should go the Rounds every night, and the Officer of the Guard to give him the Word. The Right Wing was to furnish Monsieur *Cambon*, Quarter-master General with two hundred Men, to work at the Trenches at the West-end of the Town, next the Enemy, where we planted several Field-Pieces, and it was not easy for the Enemy to break in upon us that way; the Majors were ordered a pound of Powder for each man, and to take care it should be delivered as there was occasion.

Monday the 16th, Six Hundred Men were ordered to work at the Trenches, which the Duke saw then convenient to draw round his Camp, sinc he had an Enemy that was too strong for him, very near, and therefore he must put it out of their power to force him to fight; for Wo be to that Army, which by an Enemy is made to fight against its will. And this is the Advantage of an Entrenched Camp that none can compel you to give Battel but when you please. This method has been practised very much of late, especially by the *French*; and yet it is no new thing, it being very much in use amongst the *Romans*; yet before the vanquished *Pirrus*, King of the *Epirots*, they never used any Entrenchments, but lay in the open Fields; but having found that Princes Army entrenched, they liked it so well, that ever afterwards they practised it them selves.

But not to digress too far, a Battalion was ordered to march next night into the Trenches at the West-end of the Town (which was Major-General *Kirk*'s) no Officers nor Soldiers were to stir out of

September.
The Irish
come and en-
camp at the
Bridge of
Slane.

News of the
Danes coming.

Our En-
trenchments
begun.

A Battalion
mounts to the
Trenches.

of

September:

of the Camp ; all the Collonels were to send for their Detachments that were abroad, except that at *Newry*. The Captain that commanded at *Bedloes Town* (that was a House of my Lord *Bedloe's*, about half a mile to the North-west of *Dundalk*, where we had a Guard) if the Enemy appeared, was to march to the Camp through *Dundalk*, and that a Party of one hundred Foot lye by the Horse-Guard that Night. This day or the next came Collonel *Jeffins*, and the rest of the *Iniskillin* Foot, and encamped towards the North-West of the Town, but within the Trenches on very safe Ground, as did also their Horse.

What Brigadees of Foot we had.

The General's Orders for the ordinary Guards.

Our Brigadeers of Foot were Sir *Henry Bellasis*, Sir *John Hanver*, Brigadeer *Stuart*, and Monsieur *La Millinere*; we had only one Brigadeer of Horse, who was Collonel *Villers*. Then the General gave the following Orders to be observed, and Detachments to be made out of all the four Brigades of Foot, as followeth, *viz.* One Brigade was to furnish all Ordinary and Extraordinary Guards for the day, with what little Detachments are to be made for that day ; to which end the Brigade must furnish Officers and Soldiers, as followeth: For the Duke's own Guard, a Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign with Colours, two Serjeants, two Drums, and Fifty men ; the Main-Guard in Town the like number ; and the Artillery-Guard as many : The Guard for Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, a Lieutenant, Serjeant, and Thirty men : For Major-General *Kirk*, an Ensign, Serjeant, and Twenty men ; the Guard for the Treasury, a Serjeant, and Twelve men ; in all, for the Ordinary Guards, three Captains, four Lieutenants, four Ensigns, nine Serjeants, eight Drums, and two hundred and twelve men. Each Brigadeer had a Serjeant and twelve men out of their own Brigade ; and the Collonels, when they were quartered with their Regiments, had a Guard of six men (Count *Salmes*, and Major-General *Scravenmore* had Guards of their own *Dutch*). These were upon ordinary Duty : And then the Reserve-Guard, of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, and Fifty men, out of each Regiment, was always to be ready, as well out of other Brigades, as that which had the Ordinary Guards for the day : The Brigade that had the Guards was always to have a Collonel ready in the Camp, as well to see the Detachments made, as to go the Grand Round, through the four Brigades at night. The Lieutenant-Collonels and Majors were also ordered always to keep with their respective Regiments, that in case Detachments were to be made, every one might be ready in his turn to march. And the Majors

Majors of the respective Brigades were to attend every night at the General's Quarters for Orders. September.

Next day, and the day following, one hundred Men out of each Regiment were ordered to work in the Trenches, as also a Lieutenant and twenty Men, out of each Company, to fetch Straw and Wood to build Huts ; what sick Men were in the Camp, were sent to *Carlingford* ; and now our Scouts and the Enemies stood usually within a quarter of a mile of each other : Some little Skirmishes hapned, but they turn'd to no account on either side : The General went frequently abroad to view the Enemy, and ordered on *Thursday* that a Brigadier should go the Rounds at night, and see the Guards in the day.

Friday the 20th, In the morning we had an Account that the Enemy advanced towards us, and that a Party of two thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse were gone beyond the Mountains, to attack the Pals at *Newry*, and fall upon us in the Rear ; which had been no ill Project : But their Design was only to cut off our Foragers and Straglers. About ten a Clock a Party of the Enemies Horse did appear in sight of our Camp, and they had several Battalions of Foot drawn up in order near their own ; but upon the advancing of a Party of our Horse, theirs retired to their Main Body, which was too strong for us to meddle withal. The detached Party of the Enemy that we heard was gone beyond the Mountains, went to a place call'd the *Blackbank*, and hearing that my Lord *Hewer*'s Regiment of Horse, and Sir *Henry Ingleby*'s Foot were marching to the Camp, and were in *Newry*, or hard by it that night (though they came not thither till the next) as also some French Detachments that the Duke had commanded in, lay in *Newry*, besides the usual Garison of Fifty Men ; they came no further that way, but struck off to the left towards *Sligo* ; when as its very probable, That if our Enemies had been all men of Resolution, they might have sent part of their Army in our Rear ; and whilst we endeavour'd to oppose those, they might with the rest have forced our Camp, and destroy'd us ; but Providence was our best Guard. We had sent several men sick to *Carlingford* by this time. I hapned to be there that day, and we had News that the Enemy had taken *Newry*, and were upon their march to *Carlingford* ; this was not believed by us ; but however, the *Irish* that remained there, thought it true : and 'twas very observable with what Joy the Little Boys, as well as the silly Old Women, received the News, running together.

September.

Great Rains.

The Irish
draw out
their Army,
and proffer
Battel.

ther, and whispering ; nor was it possible for them to conceal their inward satisfaction. As I went to the Camp that Evening, I observed a small Party of Light Horse cross the Rode, a little before me in great haste ; and when I got about a mile further, I understood that they were a Party of the Irish that had killed five Frenchmen, and two *Iniskilliners*, as they were a foraging towards the Mountains. This Afternoon came the first of our Ships to *Dundalk*, from *Carlingford*, with Ammunition and Provisions : In the Night the Rains were extreamly violent, and both Horse and Foot had orders to forage towards *Carlingford*, for the Forage was destroy'd on the other side.

Saturday the 21st, About nine a Clock in the Morning (it being a very clear sun-shine-day) our Camp was alarmed ; the Enemy display'd their Standard-Royal, and all drew out, both Horse and Foot, bringing along a very handsome Field-Train. A great Body of the Horse drew up to the South-West of the Town, about half a mile from our Our-works ; the Duke went out to observe them, and sent for Collonel *Beaumont*'s Regiment, into the Trenches beyond the Town, and about an hour after for Collonel *Earls*. It was reported, that several great Officers were for fighting, and desired the Duke to send for the Horse home, who were most of them gone a foraging as far as *Carlingford* ; but his Answer was, *Let them alone, we will see what they will do.* He received several fresh Accounts that the Enemy advanced, and always bid, *Let them alone.* A Body of their Foot came to the side of a Bogg, and fired upon a Party of our Horse, not far from the Duke ; but they knew the Horse could not come at them, else, I suppose, they would scarce have come so near. Then our Gunners sent from the Works, to see if they might fire amongst the Enemy ; who, by this time were within Cannon shot, but the Duke would not suffer it, except they came within Musquet-shot of our Trenches. He observed the Enemies motions and postures, and said, He saw no sign of their designing to fight ; only once they drew their Army into two lines, as if they would, and then he sent Lieutenant-General *Douglas* to the Camp, to order all the Foot to stand to their Arms ; and sent to the Horse, That upon the firing of three Pieces of Cannon, they should return to the Camp, but till then to go on with their Foraging. Mean time the Duke, as if there was no fear of danger for all this (for he used to say, That it was not in their power to make him fight but when he pleased) alighted

ed from his Horse, and sate him down upon a little Hill, where he seem'd to sleep for some time, though I believe his thoughts were at work how to repulse the Enemy, if they should attack him. Lieutenant-General *Douglas* came to the Camp, and all the Soldiers, with the greatest joy in the World, stod to their Arms; several that had not stirr'd out of their Tents for a Week before, now got up their Musquets, and all were glad to think that they had an opportunity of beating their Enemy (for they never supposed the contrary) and so to march forwards from that sad place, which they begun already to be very weary of.

We stood looking upon one another for some time, and most people desired that they might march through the Town, and have a fair Tryal for it; but the Duke had no such thoughts, and therefore he did not so much as send for his Horse home; besides, he knew that the Enemy could not easily force our Camp without a great deal of hazard to themselves, and that he believed they would scarce be brought to. And therefore about two a Clock, when the Enemy begun to draw off, the General sent orders for the Soldiers to return to their Tents. My Lord *Lisburne*, and Collonel *Woolfley* made some proffers to beat the Enemy back; or with one thousand men to beat up their Guards that night; but this was not so easy a Task as they made it; and the Duke refused it, considering if they did it, the Honour was theirs; but if they miscarried, the disadvantage was his. As the Enemy retired, a Party of Collonel *Levison*'s Dragoons killed about four or five of them, and some of the *Iniskilling-men* stript themselves, and pursued the Enemy, killing two or three more, tho some of themselves fell in the attempt; but the Action of that day was very inconsiderable; for neither could they come at us, nor we go to them, without such disadvantages, as are to be well considered of in such cases: And that the General acted this day, as well as before and after, according to the Rules of Art and Prudence, and that too for the best, may partly appear towards the latter end of the Campaign. I had almost forgot to tell you, that the Late King was at the head of his Army that day, having come to the Camp some days before.

The Orders were that Night, That none should forage, nor stir The Officers out of the Camp next day; and that the Brigades that did not mount commanded the Guards, should be exercised at firing at a Mark when it was Fair weather (as 'twas very seldom) for the Duke knew most of his men had never been in service, and therefore he would have them taught as much as could be.

September.



September.

Part of the
Irish Army
remove.A Plot disco-
ver'd.

Next day, being Sunday, we had news that the Enemy was removed towards *Drogheda*, and had burnt their Camp ; this was partly true, for they removed some of their Army, and formed a Camp hard by *Ardee* to the East, nigh the side of a Bog. My Lord *Hewett's* Horse, and Sir *Henry Inglesby's* Foot came this day to the Camp (the latter being relieved at *Carlisle* by Collonel *Gustavus Hambleton* from *Chester*) and two *French* Granadeers were apprehended as they were going to the Enemy. But next Morning there was a further discovery made : And first, Four Soldiers and a Drummer, then Sixteen more apprehended ; several Letters were found about some of those ; as one to Monsieur *d'Avaux*, and, as they say, one to the Late King ; those it seems were writ by one *Du Plessy*, who served as a private Soldier in *M. Cambon's* Regiment, and had for some time kept a Correspondence with the Enemy ; Enquiry being made into the thing, about Two hundred men, all Papists, in *Callimoi's*, *Cambon's*, and *La. Milliner's* French Regiments, were secured, disarmed, and sent with a Guard on Shipboard, and so for *England* ; but what became of them afterwards, I know not.

Monday morning the Enemy came and burnt all the Forage that was left between our Camp and theirs (the Generals would not send out a party for fear of an Ambuscade) and the Soldiers seemed to be pleased with it, because, they said, they could not get leave to fight them. The Weather for two or three days proved pretty fair, and the Soldiers were exercised with firing at Marks ; but it was observable, that a great many of the new Men who had Match-Locks, had so little skill in placing of their Matches true, that scarce one of them in four could fire their Pieces off ; and those that did, thought they had done a feat if the Gun fired, never minding what they shot at.

Tuesday, Two Granadeers of Coll. *Beaumont's* Regiment were Hanged for deserting ; and there was a Council of War designed between Major-General *Kirk* and Sir *Henry Inglesby*, about the business of *Derry*, the latter saying, That *Derry* might easily have been relieved much sooner ; with a great deal more to that purpose ; but it came to nothing, and was no more talk'd of.

On the 25th the Army was mustered, and several Regiments were grown pretty thin, by reason of the distempers then beginning to seize our Men.

Six Frenchmen
Hanged.

On the 25th Six of the principal Conspirators amongst the French

French were Hanged, upon a pair of Gallows built for that purpose near the High-way, as we went from the Camp to the Town; They all died Papists, and confessed their design to take over as many to King James as they could, and that this was their intentions when they first Listed themselves; and that if we had engaged the Enemy the Saturday before, they were to have put our Army into Confusion by firing in the Rear, and so deserting. They prayed for King William and Queen Mary, and ask'd Their Pardons for their Treachery. *Du Plessy*, the chief of them, had been formerly a Captain of Horse in *France*; from whence, they say, he fled for a Murder; but hearing what Regiments were to be raised in *England*, he came thither under the notion of a poor Refugee; and for what Service he proposed to do the late King, he both expected his Pardon from the King of *France*, and the Command of a Regiment in *Ireland*. He served as a Private Centinal, the better to carry on his design. He was certainly one that knew his busines, and amongst other things, was a good Engineer; and the more to blind the World, he went often into the Trenches at *Carlisle*, and being wounded, he would needs stay and encourage the Pioneers; so difficult it is to find the bottom of mens hearts, except by Chance or rather Providence. The French before, were very insolent, which made them hated at all hands; but this Treachery of their Countrey-men made them so odious, that the Soldiers wanted only some body to begin, and then they were ready to punish all for the faults of some. Collonel *Woolsley* some time before this, had sent a Spy to *Dublin*, who had brought him a particular Account of all Affairs there; amongst other things, the *Irish* had great hopes of the French revolting to them; this he acquainted the Duke withal, but he would not believe it till it discovered it self; so good an opinon had he of those people, who for all this were not so grateful to him as they ought to have been.

Friday the 27th, We had News, That two days before, Collonel *Lloy'd* with about 1000 *Iniskillers* had defeated a Body of the *Irish* that were going towards *Sligo* (consisting of about 5000), and had killed 700 of them, taken *O Kelly* their Commander, and 40 more Officers Prisoners, with a great booty of about 8000 Cattle, with the loss only of 14 Men; upon which News, the General ordered all the *Iniskillin* Horse and Foot that weree in the Camp to Draw out, and Complemented them so far, as to Ride all along their Line with his Hat off; then he ordered the *Dutch-Guards*

Septemb'r. Guards, and the *Iniskillin*-Foot to Draw into a Line to the Right of our Works, at the West-end of the Town, where they made three Running-fires, which were answered by the *Iniskillin*-Horse from their Camp, and by the great Guns upon our Works, as also from our Ships that lay in the mouth of the River. The Enemy admired what all this rejoicing should be for, and were in some trouble at first, suspecting we had got some extraordinary News from *England*; or that there was an Army landed in the West of *Ireland* (which they themselves must have known before us); but when they understood the occasion, they were not much concerned.

The 28th, The Officers were acquainted it was the King's positive Orders, that the Soldiers should not be wronged in their Pay, nor neglected; and whosoever was careless of his Company, should be broke without Ceremony (that was, I suppose, without a Court Martial): Care was likewise commanded to be taken of the Sick, at *Carlingford*. An Officer was sent out of every Regiment, to look after them, and see them paid; but for all this, a great many of them died miserably, and several Officers did not take the care that was necessary; nor was there either Drugs, or indeed Chyurgeons to look after the Sick. All Officers that had any Baggage on Shipboard, were commanded to take it off, because the Ships were said to go into *Scotland* for the *Danes*, though at that time they were in *Denmark*. All that were Papists in the Army, were commanded to discover it on pain of Death; there were very few found but amongst the *French*, who were put again under a Guard, and sent to *Carlingford*, there being the Afternoon before two more *French-men* taken, one who had a List of all the Army, and the Officers Names in most Regiments, as also a Scheme of our Camp; this was the occasion of the former Orders: and also that the next night it was ordered, that a List should be given in from every Regiment, of the Officers Names, and where they were with the Names of those that were absent, and all those that had not received the Sacrament since they had their Commissions, were to prepare against the *Sunday* following (which was that day Seven-night.)

All Papists
commanded
to discover
themselves.

Next day Lieutenant-General *Douglas* exercised the Regiments of the first Line, teaching them how to fire by platoons, and then made Speeches to them about their pay, which pleased the Soldiers mightily, but not so well the Officers.

About the first of October, there was a good quantity of Brandy delivered out to every Regiment ; and Orders were again repeated, That the Officers should be careful of their men ; the weather was then exceeding bad, and we who lay on wet, low ground, had leave to remove our Tents a little higher, which we did, and after some time built our selves Huts, according to former Orders.

October.
Brandy delivered to the men.

And because the French were yet so forward as to go out, and either buy, or take, the Provisions that were coming to the Market, then exacting from the English at least as much more as the thing was worth ; this was the occasion why the French were put upon the Guard whenever they could not give a good account of themselves ; upon which the General ordered that no French should be stopt any more than English ; but that none should pass the Out-Guards after Sunset, nor buy any thing upon pain of death, till it come into Town to the open Market. And because it was observed, that several Country people went between our Camp and the Enemies, giving Intelligence of our Condition, it was ordered, That all Countrymen that were stopt at or beyond the Out-Guards, and could not give a reasonable account of their business, they should be brought before the General.

Several of our Ships, to the number of about 27, were now come to Dundalk, and anchored nigh the Shore, to the South-west of the Town, but when the Tide was out, it was easie for the Enemy to come down on that side, and ruine them ; therefore the General ordered a Guard of a 100 men to go on Ship-board, and to be relieved every 24 hours ; he took all imaginable care likewise, that the Sick should be well look'd after, and that those that were well, should have Bread, Cheese, Brandy, Beef, Pease, and Money ; as also, That an Officer of a Company should go out with a Party, and fetch in Fern for the Soldiers to lie upon ; for a great many began now to be sick, by reason of the extreme bad weather ; and most of them were so lazy, that they would starve rather than fetch Fern, or any thing else, to keep themselves dry and clean withal : which certainly was the greatest occasion of Distempers, Sicknes, and Death it self ; and many of them when they were dead, were incredibly Louie : This occasioned the General to say one day when he came to the Camp, and found that the Souldiers had not Hutt'd according to Orders, *That we English-men will Fight, but we do not love to work,* (for he used to call himself an English-man, for all he loved the French so well.) About this time there was a Captain and

October.

Fifty men were sent to *Moyery Castle*, some two Miles behind our Camp, as well to secure what Provisions were coming thither, as to keep the *Rapparees* in awe, and prevent our Men that were going backwards and forwards, from being murdered, as several had been; for a day or two before this, I saw a poor Soldier lying towards the mountains, who had his Head cut off, and laid between his Legs, and one of his Arms likewise, which lay at a distance from him; so cruel are those Wretches, where they have an Opportunity or Advantage.

On the 1st of October, Coll. *Lloyd* posses himself of *James-Town*, a small place near the *Shannon*, where the Enemy had a Garrison of 80 men, that they had sent thither a little time before; and on the 5th, we had news, That the Enemies Foot began to march at one a Clock in the morning, and the Horse followed in the Rear, burning their Camp at the Bridg of *Fane*, and removing to *Ardee*.

We had also an account, That the Duke of *Berwick*, with a considerable Body of Horse, was gone towards *Iniskillin*, to rescue Major General *Maccarty*, upon which a Detachment of the *Iniskillin* Horse and Foot, Coll. *Russel*'s Horse, and Eight Grenadeers out of every Regiment, mounted on Horse-back, were sent (on the 8th) to keep a Pass between us and *Sligo*.

On the 9th, the General had an Account from one *Hempson*, and *Johnston*, with four more, (who came from *Dublin* in an open Boat on the 7th, and landed at *Carlingford*.) That King *James* had given orders to victual that place for his Winter-Quarters, and that the discourse was there of dividing the Army, in order to quit the Field, because they thought it was impossible for us to attempt any thing that Winter, as indeed it was: That night a Party of 100 Horse were sent towards *Ardee*, but coming near an old Castle, where the Enemy had posted themselves, they fired upon our men, which occasioned some of the *French* Horse to retreat; but all the harm that was done, was one of the Troopers had his Thigh bruised.

An Honourable Qu. rrel. About this time there hapned a Quarrel between two *French* Officers belonging to Duke *Sconberg*'s Regiment of Horse; they were afraid to fight nigh our Camp, lest the General should have notice of it, and so try them by a Court-Martial; therefore they agreed to ride out towards the Enemies Camp, were they fought with Sword and Pistol; and being both wounded, they told at their return, that it was the Enemy had done it.

Both

The Irish Army removes to Ardee.

Both Forage and Firing grew now very scarce, and the Weather was mighty bad, so that Mr. *Shales* had Orders to deliver our two Tuns of Coals to each Regiment. About the 8th or 9th, Sir *John Laniers*, Colonel *Langton's* Horse, and Colonel *Hifford's* Dragoons, with Colonel *Halsting's* Foot, landed at *Carlingford* from *Scotland*. We had an account that there were more landed with them; and that when they joined us, we should march forwards: but now it was too late, and they did not come to the Camp, but were ordered to *Armagh*, *Clownish*, and Places thereabouts. The General gave Orders that no Colonel, or any one whatever, should give Passes for any to go from the Camp: And that the Officers should visits the Souldiers Tents Night and Morning, to see what they wanted.

On the 13th it was ordered, that all the Sick should be sent on ^{The Sick order'd} _{on Board} Board; and that the Officers took care to see that those who were well should have Huts made, and the Quarter-masters were ordered to fetch Shoes, Bread, Cheese, Brandy and Coals. And all the Surgeons in the Army were appointed to meet Dr. *Lawrence* next day at 10 a Clock, to consult (I suppose) what Methods could be taken to prevent the Flux and Feaver, which then were very violent. The General, Count *Solmes*, Lieutenant Gen. *Douglas*, Maj. Gen. *Kirk*, and M. G. *Scravenmore*, (or some of them) were out every day, either to observe the Enemy, or view our own Camp. And on the 15th we were told by three or four Deserters, that the Enemy had entrenched themselves at *Ardee*, and designed to continue there for some time; but the first was a Mistake, for it was the Town that they were fortifying whilst they lay there, that they might leave a Garrison in it when the Army went off to Quarters. A Colonel was ordered to go the Rounds every Night, and a Brigadier once in three Nights. And we had at this time about 105 Ships at *Carlingford*, besides those at *Dundalk*.

The 16th all our Horse (except the French, the *Inniskillin*, and *Our Horse en-*
Col. *Levison's* Dragoons) march'd towards *Carlingford* for the convenience of Forage: That day Captain *Ralph Gore* was buried in *Dundalk-Church*; and the day following Col. *Deering*, (as had been several Officers before.) Sir *Edward* was very much lamented in the Army by all that knew him: He left a good Fortune in *England*, purely to serve the King in this Expedition, as did three more of his Brothers, one of which (*viz.*) Captain *John Deering* died

October.

died since at Taudrogee, being a very ingenious young Gentleman.

On the 17th a Party of *Inniskillin* Horse, and some of *Levison's* Dragoons, were got so nigh the Enemy, that a Party of twenty Horse came behind them, thinking to keep a Pass, whilst others charged them in the Front; but our Men discovering their Error, faced about, and charged those in the Rear, whereof they killed four, and took six Prisoners. The same day a Priest was hanged, ^{that had been a} ~~four~~ ^{and} ~~hanged~~ ^{for a} Spy, who came from the Enemy as a Deserter, but proved a Spy; he served then in station of a Captain. And to be even with us, they caught a Spy of ours some days after in Priests habit, and hanged him.

The 20th Capt. *Witbers* of Maj. Gen. *Kirk's* Regiment was made Adjutant-General of Foot; and next day it was again ordered that all our Sick should be sent on board at *Dundalk* and *Carlingford*; though those Orders were not executed till a fortnight after. However, we removed our Camps, some beyond the Town, and some towards the Artillery, leaving the Huts that we had made, full of sick Men. I know not the distinct number of the Sick in every Regiment at that time; but besides what were dead and gone to *Carlingford* before, as also some in the Town, we had 67 that were not able to march about twice twelve score to fresh ground, whom we put into those Huts, leaving the Surgeon with an Officer and twelve Men purposelly to attend them: The Chaplain likewise went to see them once a day; but always at his going, found some dead. Those that were alive, seemed very sorry when the others were to be buried, not that they were dead, (for they were the hardest-hearted one to another in the World) but whilst they had them in their Huts, they either served to lay between them and the cold Wind, or at least were serviceable to sit or lye upon. And since the Enemy were now drawn off, the Guards were taken from the Ships, and from *Mortimer's* Castle, leaving only a Sergeant, and twelve Men at the Gate, that leads to *Bedloe's* Castle; and because some Companies were so thin, that there were scarce twelve healthful Men in them; it was therefore ordered, that every Company should do Duty according to strength.

Tuesday the 22^d, great part of the Army were marched beyond the Town and encamp'd, some towards *Bedloe's*-Castle, and some down towards the Shipping, in so much that those that went

went over were ordered to do Duty as three Brigades; and those that staid as one, the Chirurgeon of each Regiment was ordered to see the Sick on Board. An Officer was sent to take care of them, and was to call on Mr. *Shales* for Provisions: Every Officer was to see that none were sent on Board but what were really Sick, and this was recommended to the Colonels as well as to the Bigadiers. This Afternoon there came a Drummer from the Enemy about the Exchange of Prisoners. And three Dutch-men were taken as they were stragling in the Country, who being brought to King *James*, and ask'd, who they belonged to? when he understood their Captain was the same that had the Care of him formerly at *Rochester*, he dismissed them, with his Service to their Captain, giving each of them some Money, because, he said, their Captain had been formerly civil to him.

The 23^d several sick Men having been sent on Board, and not Ships enough for the rest, Mr. *Shales* was ordered to bring more from *Carlingford*, and most of the Regiments went to encamp beyond the Town; I suppose the General was of Opinion the Ground whereon we lay was infected, or else he would not have removed us out of our Huts into our Tents again, especially in such boisterous Weather.

The 24th there was a Trumpeter sent also about the Exchange of Prisoners: And it was ordered that the Officers should give an Account of their effective Men, how many Sick, and where; as also of their spare Arms, and deliver them into the Artillery, taking a Receipt for them; but what Arms were broke or lost, the Captains were to be accountable for; and it was but reasonable: nor did the Officers take that due care in this particular that was convenient; for if any Souldier is careless of his Arms, the Officer ought to punish him, by which the King will be both better served, and freed from that unnecessary Charge of supplying his Army anew every Year: But what with the Rain, and our carelessness together, our Arms were often in that condition, that should the Enemy have attaqued us on a sudden, we had scarce one Musquet in ten that was serviceable.

The 25th, 26th, 27th, all the rest of the Army removed through the Town, and encamp'd on fresh Ground; the Weather still continued very bad, and great Numbers both of Officers and Souldiers, died. The General then gave Orders that no

September. Firings should be for the Dead, because it encouraged the Enemy, who knew but too well our Condition, and yet could do us but little harm. Most People now began to murmur against the General, as if he had been the Cause of all their Misfortunes: but it is commonly a Fate incident to great men, to be extremely magnified upon Success, and upon any notable Disaster to be as much reproach'd, and sometimes neither justly, for he himself shared in the trouble of this Affair, but could not in reason be made the cause of it.

On the 27th, about 12 a Clock at Night, 200 of Col. *Levison's* Dragoons, a Party of *Inniskillers*, and some French Horse, were sent towards the Enemies Camp, who went almost as far as *Ardee*, and brought back some Cattle and Horses, took only a Sergeant Prisoner, and had a Lieutenant killed.

Next Morning there was a Party of 80 Granadiers mounted and sent abroad, commanded by Lieut. *Laton*; but these returned with the above-said Party: and frequent Trumpets were sent to and fro about the Exchange of Prisoners. This Evening about Nine a Clock, died Sir *Thomas Gower* of a Fever, as did also Colonel *Wharton* next Morning, and were both buried on the 30th in one Vault, (where in a Fortnight before Sir *Edward Deering* was laid) the Regiments being joined, and fired three times by particular Order.

These two Gentlemen were very much bemoaned by the whole Army; Colonel *Wharton* was a brisk bold Man, and had a Regiment that would have followed him any where, for they loved him, and this made him ready to push on upon all Occasions. Sir *Tho. Gower*, though he was but just in a manner entering upon the World, yet I believe few or none of his Age could out-do him; he was of a quick and ready Wit, as well as a solid Judgment, and made it his Business to know Men and Things; to this was joined a very good Education, together with a most sweet and affable Temper; being withal a Man of a comely and handsom Person, (as was also Col. *Wharton*) that it made him truly bemoaned by all that knew him. A day or two after died Collonel *Hungerford*, a very hopeful young Gentleman, and of a considerable Fortune; with several other Officers, and great numbers of Souldiers, (as I have said!) And many unthinking Mens Passions led them to censure the General as the occasion of all this. They would say, that if he had gone on at first, he might

might certainly have got *Dublin*, and what he did was only to protract the War, and that he cared not how many died, so he was well himself; but at best, that he was so old that he was not fit for Action, for if he had but rid out, he would forget in two or three hours that he had been abroad that Day. But all those were most false and ignorant Suggestions, as his Majesty was very sensible of at that time; and it appeared to all considering People to be so afterwards. For besides, prime Ministers are not to level their Proceedings to the Capacities of all who pretend Vigilancy and Care of the State, and no Man living in publick Employments can manage so as to have the good word of all People, neither indeed is it convenient or rational to endeavour to expect it.

On the last of *October*, all the Quarter-masters had Orders to go on Board with each ten Men, and see the Ships cleared to make room for the Sick; they were all to have Tickets from their Colonels, and the Brigadeers were ordered to visit them on Board: but if any were well enough to go to *Carlingford*, or the County of *Down*, they were to be taken care of; the Colonels, or Lieutenant-Colonels were to go with the Brigadier on Board, and every Adjutant was to give a List next Morning of their Sick to the Adjutant-General, which was a very large one.

Friday the First of *November*, greatest part of the Enemies Army Decamped, and marched to Quarters, and it was ordered that Night, that two Granadeers out of each English Regiment, and three out of every French, should be on Horse-back at the White-House early next Morning, to go out as a Party to observe the Enemy: the reason of this I suppose was, because the small number of Horse and Dragoons that were left in our Camp were almost harrassed to Death with continual Duty, the rest being nigh *Carlingford* at *Grafs*, as has been said. All the Sick that were in any condition to March, were ordered to be at the Artillery by seven a Clock in the Morning; there Officers were to give them a Weeks Pay, and there was a Party appointed to conduct them to *Newry*.

November.
*The Enemy De-
camp.*

Saturday the 2d, the Duke ordered the *Inniskillers* both Horse and Foot to march towards Home, since News was brought to *Sligo* and *James-Town* were taken by the *Irish*: *The Inniskillings Decamp.*
For

October.

For *Sarsfield*, with a considerable Body, coming that way, those at *James-Town*, not thinking it tenable, quitted it, and marched to *Sligo*, losing some of their own Party, and killing some of the *Irish* who prest upon them in their Retreat. *Sarsfield* with his Army, next day, came before *Sligo*, which made Colonel *Russel* *Sligo* taken by retreat to *Balishannon*, and he advised the Foot also to quit the the *Irish*. Town. There was a French Captain, with the Detached Party of Granadeers that went from our Camp, and Colonel *Lloyd* with some *Inniskilliners*; these staid in the Town, and from thence retreated to the two Forts at the end of it, *Lloyd* into one, and the French-man with his Granadeers into the other. Colonel *Lloyd* went away that Night, and lost several of his Men in his Retreat: But the French Captain had carried in Provisions, and found three Barrels of Powder in the Fort. The Nights were dark, and he fearing the Enemy might make their Approaches to the Fort undiscovered, he got a great many Fir-Deals, and dipping the ends of them in Tarr, they made such a Light, when set on Fire, and hung over the Wall, that he discovered the Enemy coming with an Engine they called *Sow*; but having killed the Engineer and two or three more, the rest retired, and he burnt the Engine. When day appeared, the Enemy were forced to quit a small Field-piece they had planted in the Street, our Men pleyed them so with shot from the Fort; and then making a Sally several of them were killed. But their Provisions being gone, and there being little or no Water in the Fort, our Men surrendred it on the 3d day, upon Honourable Terms, viz. to march out with their Arms and Baggage. At their coming over the Bridg, Coll. *Sarsfield* stood with a Purse of Guineas, and proffered to every one that would serve King *James*, to give him Horse and Arms with Five Guineas Advance; but they all made answer, that they would never fight for the *Papishes* (as they called them) except one, who next Day after he had got Horse and Arms, and Gold, brought all off with him. So steadfast were the poor Men, in what they had undertaken, that tho they had indured a great deal of Hardship, yet would dye rather than be Faithless. There were several also that were taken Prisoners as they stragled from the Camp, or upon flying Parties; and tho they indured all the Miseries of a severe Restraint, yet they could by no means be wrought upon to take up Arms against the Interest they had come thither to venture their Lives for: Nay even those that were

were a dying in the Camp were wont to express no other Sorrow, *November.*
 than *Plague on these Papishes, that we must dye here, and not have leave to go and fight them.* The French Captain's Name, as I remember, was Monsieur de St. Sauvem, he died afterwards at *Lisburn* of a Feaver. The Castle of *Sligo* is one of the most Ancient in *Ireland*, it was formerly the Seat of the *O Connors*, who would not for a great while yield to King *Henry the Second*, calling themselves the Ancient Kings of *Ireland*.

But to return from this Digression. On Saturday in the Evening it was ordered that a Colonel and a Brigadeer should go the Rounds, and stay in the Camp all Night, to see the Guards all right, to enquire what Officers lay out of the Camp, and to acquaint the General with it; and because they found there was abundance of sick Men that neither could March, nor was there Room for them in the Ships, therefore Waggons were ordered to be ready at the Bridg-End next Morning to carry them all to *Carlingford* and *Newry*. The Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, and Majors of each Regiment, were ordered to be there, and see their sick Men taken care of, and to give them Money; there was also an Officer out of each Regiment appointed with a Guard to attend them.

Next Morning the poor Men were brought down from all places towards the Bridg-End, and several of them died by the way, the rest were put upon Waggons, which was the most Lamentable Sight in the World, for all the Rodes, from *Dundalk* to *Newry* and *Carlingford* were next day full of nothing but dead Men, who ever as the Waggons jolted, some of them died, and were thrown off as fast. The General very seldom used to be from the Church, but that day he was for some hours at the Bridg-end, to see all the care taken for the Men that could be, and was very much displeased that all the Field-Officers were not so careful as he had given Command they should. The Ships were then filling with Sick, and as many dying on that side: they were ordered to go into *Deep-water*, and sail with the first fair Wind for *Belfast*. The Weather all this while was very dismal, and yet we were obliged to stay till both the Ships were got into *Deep-water*, and the sick gone by Land, lest when we were gone, the Enemy should spoil our Ships, and kill our Men.

Monday the 4th. of *November* it was ordered, that all who had any sick Men on Board, should send an Ensign with ten men to take

November. take care of them ; and if the Men wanted any thing, they were to send to Mr. Shales for it. The Tents that were by the Water-side were to be taken on Board to keep the sick Men warm, and every Rigement was to have the same number again that they brought thither. The fifth it was confirm'd that the Enemy were gone to Quarters, and the Sixth we had orders to March. Next day *Stuart, Hobert, Gower, & Zanchy* (formerly my *L. Lovelace's*) towards *Newry* ; *Harmer, Deering, Drogbeda, Beaumont, Wharton, Bellasis* (before the Duke of *Norfolk's*) and *Roscommon*, were to march towards *Armagh* ; Maj. Gen. *Kirk*, and the Dutch, were to go by *Newry*, and so down to *Antrim*. The Soldiers were ordered six days Bread, and a Fortnights Subsistence. I remember next Morning, as we were marching off, word was brought to us that the Enemy was approaching ; and, God knows, we were in a very weak condition to relift them, those that were blest being scarce able to carry their Arms ; however they were very hearty, and began to unbuckle their Tents at the News, and said, *If they came, they should pay for our lying in the Cold so long* : but it proved only a small Party who took two or three of our Men Prisoners as they were stragling.

Thursday the 7th. of November, the Regiments above named marched ; the Hills as we went along being all covered with Snow, (for what was Rain in the Valley, was Snow on the Mountains) ; several that were not able to march up, were forced to be left, and so died ; and all of us had but indifferent Lodgings that Night, amongst the Ruins of the Old Houses at *Newry*. So little did the poor Men value dying, that some of them being in a Stable over-night, the next day two were dead ; and the rest intreating me to get a Fire, which I did ; coming about two hours after, thy had pulled in the two Dead Men to make Seats of.

The ninth Day the rest of our Army marched from *Dundalk*, the Duke giving Orders first to burn some Arms and Provisions that could not be got off, because the Waggons were employed to carry the Men ; and some few sick Men were left that could not be removed, those were at the Mercy of the Enemy, who did not use them ill, but buried several that were dead. At their first coming to *Dundalk*, they removed the Corps of our three dead Colonels out of my Lord *Bedlow's* Vault, and buried them nigh the Church-door, but did abuse them as was reported.

As the Rear of our Army was Marching off from *Dundalk*, a *November*. small Party of Enemy's Horse came as far as *Moyery-Castle*, ~~Some Men kil- led.~~ two Miles from the Town, where they killed the Adjutant of my Lord *Kingston's* Regiment, with two or three Souldiers that were behind the rest ; but a Party of our Horse advancing, the Enemy retreated towards *Dundalk*, which they had possession of within an hour after we had left it.

And that nothing might be wanting for the good of the Souldiers, the General before he left the Camp, *viz.* on the 23d of *October*, set forth an Order how all Subaltern Officers and Souldiers were to be subsisted and cleared ; according to which all Colonels and Superior Officers were to take care that their Men were paid, as they would answer the contrary at their Perils.

Sometime after our coming to Quarters, I was told a very remarkable Story relating to the manner of our decamping at *Dundalk* ; It was by one Mr. *Hambleton* of *Tollymoore*, a Justice of Peace in his Country, and a sober rational Man, which was to this effect ; Himself and two other Gentlemen, with their Servants, coming from *Dublin* into the North, at least a Year before our Landing ; As they came towards *Dundalk*, about Nine a Clock at Night, they espied several little twinkling Lights in the Air, with two larger than the rest : They staid some time in the Town, and designing for *Newry* that Night, Mr. *Hambleton* went a little before his Company, and saw the same Lights again, as nigh as he could guess, about the Ground where we afterwards Encamp'd : On the side of the Hill, as he was to go towards the Mountains, he turned about and look'd at them, and at the same time he heard the most dismal and heavy Groans in the World. This startled him something, and presently his Company came up, who all saw the Lights, and heard the Noise, which continued till they got almost to *Newry* ; but the Lights they saw no more after they turned their Backs off the Plains of *Dundalk*. They have a great many Stories of this kind in *Ireland* : And the *Inniskilling*-Men tell you of several such things before their Battels, but I have only the Reader's Pardon to ask for the trouble of this.

The Army at our decamping, was dispersed all over the *North* to Winter-Quarters, which were but very indifferent ; ~~was quarter'd.~~ and what with coming to warm Fire-sides with some, and others having little or no shelter to secure them, and very little Pro-

November.

visions, the Country being all wasted and destroyed, (nor was it possible to send Provisions every where till Storehouses were fixed:) And then most of the Men being very weak before they left the Camp, and marching in the Cold and Wet to come to those Places, we had more that died when they came to Quarters, than died in the Camp. I have a Copy of the Order by me which directed how and where all Regiments were to be disposed, but it's needless to insert it, only our Frontier Garrisons, were *Green-Castle* and *Rosfiver*, where quartered *Beaumont* and *Stuart*; *Newry*, where was Sir *Henry Inglesby*; *Taudrogee*, *Sis Henry Bellasis*, and some of *Levison's Dragoons*; *Legacory* had some of the French, and at *Armagh* were *Drogheda* and *Deering*; at *Clownish*, *Monahan*, and those places, were *Hastings* and some of the *Iniskilliners*. The General had his Head-Quarters at *Lisburn*; and the Hospital was ordered to be at *Belfast*, which is a very large Town, and the greatest for Trade in the North of *Ireland*; it stands at the head of the Bay of *Carickfergus*, and the Inhabitants have lately built a very famous Stone-Bridg, but the Wars coming on, it is not as yet quite finished.

I doubt not but most People will be curious to know how many died this Campaign, and in Quarters, and what could be the occasion of such Mortality; as likewise how many the Enemies Numbers were when they lay so nigh us, and wonder why two Armies should lie so near together (for our Front and theirs were for above a Fortnight not two miles asunder) and yet so little of Action happen. As to the first, whatever the World may think, yet I can attribute those Distempers amongst us to nothing else but the Badness of the Weather, the moistness of the Place, the unacquaintedness of the English to hardships, and indeed their lazy Carelessness: For I remember a Regiment of *Dutch* that Encamp'd at the end of the Town, were so well hutt'd, that not above eleven of them died the whole Campaign; but it's the same thing with the *English* whenever you take them first out of their own Country as it was here: And let Men be in other things never so happy, if they have Courage, and know the use of their Arms, yet when they come upon Duty, if they have not Bodies inured to hardships, they lie under a great disadvantage. But in truth we could scarce have been more unfortunate either in a Place or in the Weather than whilst we were there; for it would often rain all

The Reasons of
our Mens dying.

Day

Day upon us, when there was not one drop in the Enemies Camp ; this they used to call a *Judgment*, but it was because we lay in a Hollow at the Bottoms of the Mountains, and they upon a high sound Ground : The Enemy did not at first die so fast as we did, because they were born in the Country, and were used to bad lying and feeding, but before they decamped they were nigh as ill as we, and abundance died after they got to Quarters.

One thing I cannot omit, and that is, that our Surgeons were *Chirurgeons ill provided.* very ill provided with Druggs, having in their Chests only some little things for Wounds, but little or nothing that might be useful against the Flux and the Feaver, which were the two raging Distempers amongst us ; and yet I cannot but think that the Feaver was partly brought to our Camp by some of those People that came from *Derry*, for it was observable that after some of them came amongst us, it was presently spread over the whole Army, yet I did not find many of themselves died of it.

As to the Number of our Men that died, I am sure there were *Number of Men that died at Dundalk.* not above sixteen or seventeen Hundred that died in or about *Dundalk*; but our Ships came from *Carlingford* and *Dundalk* about the 13th of *November* to *Belfast*, and there were Shipt at those two places 1970 sick Men, and not 1100 of those came a-shore, but died at Sea ; nay, so great was the Mortality, that several Ships had all the Men in them dead, and no Body to look after them whilst they lay in the Bay at *Carickfergus*. As for the Great Hospital at *Belfast*, there were 3762 that died in it from the first of *November* to the first of *May*, as appears by the Tallies given in by the Men that buried them : There were several that had their Limbs so mortified in the Camp, and afterwards, that some had their Toes, and some their whole Feet that fell off as the Surgeons were dressing them ; so that upon the whole matter, we lost nigh one half of the Men that we took over with us.

As to the Enemies Numbers, and the reason why so little *The Enemies Numbers.* Action happened ; the Accounts that were given by Deserters, both as to the Enemies Numbers and Designs, were so various and disagreeing, that the General himself was at a loss what to trust to : (which, if well considered, will answer many of those rash Objections made to the management of that Campagne). I

November. have seen a List of their whole Army since ; and the most agree that they had at *Dundalk* 17 Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, with as many Foot as made them nigh forty thousand, though their Foot were not all very well armed, but some had Scithes instead of Pikes: Yet Lieut. General *Hamilton* denies that they were ever so many in the Field. And as for so little of Action happening in so long a time, the reason on the Duke's side (as I humbly conjecture) might be, that he found himself exceedingly out-done in the number of his Horse : Nor did the small Body that he had, come all at one time, but stragling, by degrees : And therefore he was unwilling to venture a few, except he had enough to push for all, which he had not. And our entrenching our selves might make the Enemy think it was to no purpose to alarm us, since they believed it impossible to force our Camp, which it certainly was not, if we had had any other sort of People to deal withal but *Irish*. But it may be they considered that Maxim, that the Invader is still to proffer, and the Invaded to decline a Battel.

The LIST of our own Army was as followeth.

A List of our Army.

Horse and Dragoons.	Troops.	Foot.
Lord <i>Devonshire</i> ,	6	A Battalion of Blew Dutch.
Lord <i>Delamere</i> ,	6	<i>Carleson's</i> White Dutch.
Lord <i>Hewett</i> ,	6	Major General <i>Kirk</i> .
Colonel <i>Coy</i> ,	6	Sir <i>John Hanmer</i> .
† Colonel <i>Langston</i> ,	6	Brigadier <i>Stuart</i> .
Colonel <i>Villers</i> ,	6	Colonel <i>Beaumont</i> .
† Sir <i>John Lanier</i> ,	6	Colonel <i>Wharton</i> .
D. <i>Schonberg's</i> French,	9	Lord <i>Meath</i> .
Col. <i>Woolsely's</i> Inniskilliners,	12	Lord <i>Kingston</i> .
Mr. <i>Harbord's</i> Troop,	1	Lord <i>Drogheda</i> .
Capt. <i>Matthew White</i> ,	1	Sir <i>Henry Bellasis</i> .
Provost Martial's Troop,	1	Sir <i>Henry Inglesby</i> .
† Col. <i>Hefford's</i> Dragoons,	9	Lord <i>Lovelace</i> , then Colonel <i>Zanchy's</i> .
Col. <i>Levison's</i> Dragoons,	6	Lord <i>Roscommon</i> .
Sr. <i>A. Cunningham's</i> Dragoons,	6	Lord <i>Lisburne</i> .
Col. <i>Gwinn's</i> Dragoons,	6	* Colonel <i>Hamilton</i> .
		* Colonel <i>Hastings</i> .

These make in all 13 Regiments,

Colo-

Foot.

ments, (besides three Independent Troops) 3 of which marked thus †, did not come to the Camp, and 2 more came late, so that we could not make above 8 Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, when the *Irish* drew out upon us, and 3 of those were Inniskilliners.

Colonel <i>Deering</i> .
Colonel <i>Herbert</i> .
Sir <i>Tho. Gower</i> .
Colonel <i>Earle</i> .
<i>La Millineir</i> .
<i>Du Cambon</i> .
<i>La Callimott</i> .

Inniskillin and Derry Foot.

* Col. *Gustavus Hamilton*.

Colonel <i>Mitchelburne</i> .

* Colonel *Lloyd*.

* Colonel <i>St. Johns</i> .

* Colonel *White*.

Colonel <i>Tiffany</i> .

Not, that the Foot marked thus *, were not at *Dundalk*, but in Garison.

These make in all (counting the Blew Battalion for one) thirty Regiments of Foot ; but those were all that we had in *Ireland* ; there were some at *Derry*, and Col. *Hamilton*'s Regiment at *Carickfergus* ; some at *Inniskilling*, and others at *Sligo* (till the *Irish* took it from us.) Fifty Men were left upon a Party at *Newry* : There were also several killed at *Carickfergus*, and some left sick and wounded at *Belfast* ; besides the two *Hamiltons*, *Lloyd's*, *White's*, *St. John's* and *Hasting's*, never came to the Camp. Sir *Henry Inglesby's* and two Regiments of Horse came not till our Camp was fix'd ; and then Maj. Gen. *Kirk's*, Sir *John Hanmer's*, and Brigadier *Stuart's* Regiments had laid long on Ship-board, and had been harassed, so that they had lost several of their Number. Some also were dead or sick, and others run away. Put all these things together (I say) and we cannot suppose that the Duke had above 2000 Horse and Dragoons, and not many more than 12000 Foot, when the *Irish* proffer'd him Battel.

I have no warrant from any body for what I am going to say, only I think my self obliged to give an account of what I am perswaded is true, in answering those Objections which were made by the Army first, and then by several of the People of *England* that had lost their Relations or Friends, (viz.) That the Duke

November.

Duke was to blame he did not go on at first without stopping, for then we had got *Dublin*, and all the Kingdom would have fallen of course, without half that expence of Treasure that *England* has been at: And that we lost more Men by lying at *Dundalk*, than we could have done in a Battel; and also a year's time, which might have been employed with an Army in the Heart of *France*. These things, and several of the like nature, have been objected to the Conduct of that Great Man, who always thought it better to owe his Victories to good Management than good Fortune; since wise Counsels are still within the Power of wise Men, but Success is not. And what Man in the World would be thought wise, and his Actions entertained as the best, if only such were so, against whom and which no Objection could be made? The Memory therefore of such a Man ought not to suffer, who all his Life-long had been said to act with the greatest Prudence in the World: And for his management in this Affair, no doubt he could give very substantial Reasons; yet because those are not, nor cannot be known to the World, I shall only offer some few that I have had from very good Hands, and which I know in the main to be true. It's an easie thing for Men to sit at home by a warm Fire-side, and find fault with Affairs of the greatest Moment, tho' they know no more than the Man in the Moon what such things mean: And if we get but into a Coffee-house, or over a 'Bottle in a Tavern, we can be greater Statesmen and Generals in opinion than those that are really so; and can do that in conceit in two hours, which the greatest Men find a difficulty to perform in some years. The Duke therefore I humbly conceive had more Reasons for what he did than I can think on, or possibly ever heard of. But what I have to offer are these, as,

The Reasons why the General went no farther than Dundalk. 1. Where the Fault lay I know not, but I was at *Chester* when the Duke had been above a week in *Ireland*; and all or most of the Waggon-Horses, and some of the Train-Horses were there then: Nor did they come over till we had been some time at *Dundalk*. The Country, as we marched, was all destroyed by the *Irish*; so that by that time we got to *Nemry*, I was forced to go and dig Potatoes, which made the greatest part of a Dinner to better Men than my self: And if it was so with us, it may easily be supposed that the poor Souldiers had harder times of it. This the Duke was very sensible of, and sent for Mr. *Alloway* Com-

Commissary to the Train, and told him that he must send back his Horses for Bread for the Men: And when the other urged, it was a thing never known that the Train-Horses were employed to any other Use than what belonged to the Train it self; the Duke replied, He knew the truth of that; but that he had rather break any Rules than his Men should starve; and accordingly some of the Horses were sent for Bread, as I have observed before.

2. For want of Horses and Carriages, the Duke was forced to ship the greatest part of his Train, and several Necessaries for a Camp, at *Carickfergus*; and gave Orders that the Ships should sail with the first fair Wind for *Carlingford-Bay*: But though the Wind was very favourable, they did not stir in ten days after; nor did there any Ships come to *Carlingford*, till we had been at *Dundalk* at least a week, and then only four came at a time. I have heard indeed that he who had the Sailing Orders, went some-where with them, and the Ships lay still for want of them: But how true this is, I know not.

3. It was said, that the General had assurance given him, before he left *England*, that an Army should be landed in the West of *Ireland*, at his marching through the North, (and accordingly we had it several times affirmed that it was so:) This no doubt would have disengaged the *Irish*, and made the Duke's Passage to *Dublin* much more easie. But the General had an account I suppose that this could not be, and therefore he must stand or fall by himself. Nor would any that knew Duke *Schonbergh* believe he would ever come abroad with so small an Army, and so ill provided: And I have heard say, that that Army was never designed to conquer *Ireland*, but to defend the North.

4. It was no difficult thing for him to march his Army as far as *Dundalk*, and that safely, by reason the Country was full of Mountains and Bogs; and the Enemies Horse could not do him much harm, (though if they had pleased, they needed not have let us come past *Newry*, and yet their Horse had then newly come from *Derry*, and were gone to recruit.) But if he had pass'd that Place, it was a plain and open Country, and we might easily have been surrounded, and our Communication both from the North and also from our Ships cut off: For if we past *Dundalk*, we could have no more benefit of our Shipping till we had been Masters of *Drogheda*, or else have gone to *Dublin*,

November. lin, and then we must have gone over the *Boyne*, which ~~we~~ thrice our Number, and that too in a dry Season in the midst of Summer, found some difficulty in passing; and all this we must have performed in two or three days, or else have starved.

5. Suppose that if we had marched on and made an halt at *Dundalk*, we might have gone to *Dublin*, the Irish Army not being got together, (for I have heard it was debated whether *Drogheda* should have been surrendered if we advanced thither? and it was once carried in the Affirmative): But the Duke was not certain of the Enemies Condition; nor if he had, Would it have been any prudence to have gone on without Provisions, without Ships, and a great many other things that were absolutely necessary? He knew he was safe at *Dundalk*, and therefore he chose to stay there and understand the posture of the Enemy, and expect his own Things and Forces, rather than run the hazard of gaining that by meer Fortune, which if she had frowned, the Damage was certainly irreparable.

6. The General was a meer Stranger in the Country, and therefore he must look at a great many Things with other Mens Eyes, and some of those were dim enough; nor had he any Counsel assigned him, but had the whole shock of Affairs upon himself, which was the occasion that he scarce ever went to Bed till it was very late, and then had his Candle, with a Book and Pensil by him; this would have confounded any other Man, and was fit for no Body to undertake but Duke *Schonberg*, or his Master that employed him. Before the Duke could be ready therefore to march forwards, the *Irish* Army was come and sat down by us, and then it was too late.

And why he did not fight the Irish Army. Nor do I think he was more to blame in refusing Battel, when the *Irish* seem'd to proffer it; for though its probable that the *Irish* at our first coming over, took our Numbers to be greater than they really were, yet by that time we had been a Week at *Dundalk*, they knew our Numbers and our Circumstances as well as we our selves did, both by the Intelligence they had in the Country, and by several of the *French* that had a mind to betray us: For, all things considered, we had not above 14000 Horse and Foot, and very few of those Horse; nor was the Duke to go according to our reputed Numbers, but to what we were in Reality. The Enemy had nigh four times our Number

1700

ber of Horse and Dragoons, with double our Number of Foot: *November.*
 nor could we have drawn out upon them without a manifest
 disadvantage, there being several Bogs and Causeys between us
 and them, that whosoever gave the Attaque (all things else con-
 sidered) it was odds against them: Besides, most of our Soul-
 diers were new Men, and had never seen a Sword drawn in An-
 ger, nor a Gun fired in Earnest in their Lives; and what such
 Men will do till they be tried, there's none can tell. — I believe
 the Men had as good Hearts, and were all as ready I am sure to
 engage as was possible; but several of them were ignorant of
 the true use of their Arms, for when they came afterwards to
 fire at a Mark singly, they gave too great proof to any Man of
 sense of their Unskilfulness. This is no Reflection upon the
 Officers, for it's scarce possible to make new-raised Men good
 Souldiers till they have seen some Action; and yet several Offi-
 cers might have taken more care than they did. If it be ob-
 jected, that the Enemies Men were far worse in this respect than
 ours; I answer: Not, for a great many of them had been Soul-
 diers for at least four Years before: and if we had gone out in
 to the Plain, and had had our Foot charged by their Horse at the
 rate we were afterwards at the *Boyne*, I know not what might
 have followed.

Besides, we had an Enemy in our Bosom at that time undiscovered, (I mean the *French*); and if those at the beginning of an Engagement should have fired in the Rear or Flank of our Army upon our own Men, and then run over to the Enemy as was designed, this might quickly have bred an apprehension of Treachery in the whole, that a Confarnation, and from this such a Confusion, that our whole Army might easily have been disordered; for those that understand Armies, know that a small thing in appearance may do a great deal of Mischief at such a time. And some are of Opinion that the *Irish* did not design to fight that Day, but only drew out to see who would come over to them, (because they were made believe that all the *French*, and a great many *English* would) for the Duke, who was a great Judge, often said, when he saw the Enemy appear, *That They did not look as if they would fight, (except once) but that they designed something else:* But God be thanked, the *English*

November.
1715

were stedfast and true to a Man, and they were disappointed of their Foreigners too.

Upon the whole Matter, I doubt not but it will appear to any Man that pleases to consider it, that the Duke did better in not hazarding that in a moment, which may be was not to be redeemed again in many Ages, since not only the Safety of these Kingdoms did in a great measure depend upon it, but a great part of the Protestant Interest in *Europe* had a Concern in it. And where the Fates of Kingdoms, and the Lives and Interests of Thousands are at Stake, Men are still to act on solid Reasons and Principles; the Turns of a Battel being so many, and are often occasioned by such unexpected Accidents, which also proceed from such minute Causes, that a wise and great Captain (such as Duke *Schonberg* was) will expose to Chance only as much as the very Nature of War requires.

And as to what happened at *Dundalk*, by the Mens dying afterwards, this was not the General's Fault, for he could not march back till the Enemy was gone, (his Men then being so very weak, had all been cut off); nor could he foresee what Weather it would be whilst he staid, nor how the *English* Constitutions would bear it. And as to his Care that they should want nothing, let any but consider the Orders through the Camp, and he will find it was scarce in the power of any Man to do more.

But I am afraid it will be thought impertinent, to indeavour the defence of so great a Man's Actions, and to do it no better; I only add therefore, that this Town of *Dundalk* has by turns been unfortunate to the People of the three Nations. It was in Times past a Town very strongly walled, which *Edward Bruce*, Brother of the King of *Scots*, (who had Proclaimed himself King of *Ireland*) burnt; but he was near this place afterwards slain, with 8200 of his Men. Afterwards the *Irish* under *Shan O Neal*, laid siege to it, but were repulsed with very great loss: Then in the Year 1641. my Lord *Moore* and Sir *Henry Tichburn* beat three thousand *Irish* out of *Dundalk*, and killed a great many of them, having only 750 Foot and 200 Horse. And the Misfortune of the *English* last Year was not inferiour to any of these.

Former Misfor-
tunes at Dun-
dalk.

But

But to return to Matter of Fact. The Enemy had left eight *November*.
 Regiments at *Ardee* when they Decamped, out of which Regi-
 ments, so soon as we were gone to Quarters, they detached
 1600 Men; and those with 100 Volti^riers were to force the Pass
 at *Newry*, and then go along the Line to destroy our Frontier
 Garisons, (which at that time had been no difficult Task to have
 performed) they march'd all Night, *Saturday* the 23 *November*,
 and came on *Sunday* Morning, by break of Day (or before) to
 the other side of the Bridge at *Newry*; this Party was command-
 ed by Major General *Boisneau*, having with him a Brigadeer, three
 Colonels, and other Officers proportionable; there was then in
 the Garrison most of what were left of Colonel *Inglesby*'s Re-
 giments which were not many above sixty, and not forty of those
 able to present a Musquet; the Enemy sent a Party of a 100
 Men to pass the River a little above the Bridge, and came in at
 the North-east-end of the Town, whilst the main Body march-
 ed over the Bridge, beyond which we had two Centinels placed at
 100 paces distance from each other; the first challenged thrice,
 and then his Piece missed fire and he was killed, the next challeng-
 ed and fired upon them, which alarmed the Garrison: As they
 advanced near the middle of the Town, in a strait place near
 the Castle, a Sergant and twelve Men being upon the Guard,
 drew out and fired, then retreated to the old Walls, charged
 and fired again; by this time all the Officers and Souldiers that
 were able to crawl were got into the Market-place, with some
 few Townsmen; the Enemy came in both ways, and fired, do-
 ing us some damage; the poor fellows that were not able to
 come out, fired their Pieces out at the Windows of some small
 Houses that were left standing: others that could not do better,
 got their backs to the old Walls, and so were able to present
 their Musquets: After some firing on both sides, the Enemy be-
 lieving us to be a great many more than we really were, be-
 gun to shrink, which occasioned our Men to *Huzzah*, and <sup>And are repul-
led by an hand-
ful</sup> then the Rogues run away, many of them for haste wading
 through the River up to their Necks, (the Tide being high
 at that time) they were followed down to the Bridge by
 a Captain and a very small party of Men, and though they
 were both threatened and intreated by their Officers to rally
 again, yet all would not do. They had a Lieutenant-Colonel kil-
 led

November. led, and left six Men dead on the place ; but afterwards we were informed they carried off twelve Horses loaden with dead and wounded Men : we took only one or two Prisoners, and if we had had a party of Horse and Dragoons to pursue them, not many had gone home to tell the News ; those that were kill'd had not above two Bandileers full of Powder a piece, and the rest full of Salt , which made us believe the Enemy at that time were scarce of Ammunition : they killed us two Captains and six Men, wounding a Lieutenant and Ensign. It was thought very odd that not so much as a Field Piece should be left at that important Pass of *Newry*, nor yet a party of Horse : but the Reason of that might be, because there were no Houses left standing to put them in, nor any Forage thereabouts for them. But after this the General ordered Detachments out of Colonel *Viller's*, Colonel *Coy's*, and those Regiments that lay most convenient, to go to *Newry*, and relieve by turns.

Col. Cambon views Charlemont.

On the 26th of November, Colonel Cambon went to view the Garrison of Charlemont, having 60 of Colonel *Levison's* Dragoons along with him : the *Irish* had lined the Hedges nigh the place where he was to make his Observations, but were beat from thence by the Dragons, who alighted and killed two or three; but about eight or ten of our Dragoons going too far from their main Body , were surprized and taken Prisoners , and most of them died before they could be relieved.

Towards the latter end of November the General summon'd all the Gentlemen in the Country to meet him at *Lisburn*, where they presented him with an Address ; and agreed upon Rates for all sorts of Provisions, which were commanded to be sold accordingly by the Duke's Proclamation : but this was very disagreable to the Country People, who had made us pay treble Rates before for every thing we had from them.

A party of the *Irish* Garrison at Charlemont stole out one Night and burnt *Duncannon*, a small Town some five miles off. And November 29. Brigadeer *Stuart* having Intelligence that my Lord *Antrim's* Regiment in *Dundalk* designed again to attack *Newry*, he with a party of about 250 Horse and Foot, met them as they were coming , and killed about thirty, taking seventeen Prisoners , some of whom were Officers.

A Meeting of Country Gentlemen.

December the 4th. Colonel *Woolsley* went in the Night with a *November.*
a party of *Iniskilliners* towards *Belturbet*, upon whose approach
the Garrison being surprized, they yielded (upon the first Sum-
mons) to be conducted to the next Garrison, though they had
fortified the place very well.

*Belturbet Sur-
rended.*

The 12th. of December the Duke went to view *Charlemont*,
they fired their Cannon upon him and his Party, but however,
some of our Men took a Prey of Cattel from under the very
Walls. And about this time the General gave out Orders to be
observed by all the Army; which being very commendable in
themselves, if every one had endeavoured to put them in Ex-
ecution, it will not be improper therefore to mention some few
of them.

*The Duke goes
to view Char-
lemon.*

1. That the Captain or Officer commanding each Company, meet at two a Clock at the Guard House each *Tuesday* to punish Offenders, and to consider what may be for the Good of the Regiment, and that the Country have notice thereof, that if there be any Complaints against the Souldiers they may be heard.
2. That the Souldiers have strict Orders to frequent Divine Service every *Sunday*; and that the Officers punish Swearing, and all other Vices, as directed by the Articles of War.
3. That the Souldiers that are to mount the Guard, be there by six of the Clock in the Morning, and exercise till Eleven; and that the Chaplain be there to read Prayers before the Guard be mounted.
4. That every Captain take care of the General's Orders for regulating the Foot, and the Major-Generals for Exercising; and diligently observe the same.
5. That an Officer twice a Week visit the Sick, and a Serjeant twice a day; and give the Chyrurgeon and Chaplain notice that they may immediately repair to them.

And a great many more Orders there were to this purpose, but these are sufficient to shew the Care of the General in every Thing, and that he was far from those Imperfections some People were pleased to reproach him with.

About this time there was a great Booty of Cattel taken by *Lieut. Col. Berry*, who went from *Clownish* to *Sligo* with a Party;

*Some of the Ge-
neral's Orders.*

December. Party, he saw no Enemy, but found their Cattel, and brought them Home with him. And now the Irish begin to make the Coin of their Brass Money less than it was at first: Calling in the large Brass Half-Crowns, and stamping them a new for Crowns, they wanting Metal to go on with it as they first began: They say it was a Quaker that first proposed this Invention of Brass Money; but whoever it was, they did that Party a signal piece of Service, since they would never have been able to have carried on the War without it. However the Quakers have been very serviceable to that Interest, for I am assured by some in the Irish Army, that they maintained a Regiment at their own Cost; besides several Presents of value that they made to the late King.

Mr. Shales a Prisoner.

There were now great Complaints against Mr. Shales, and those flew so high that he was secured by an Order from *England*; and was sent with a Guard to *Belfast*, and so designed for *London*: He stayed some Days at *Belfast* before he could be ready, and in the mean time fell ill of a Fever, recovering with a great deal of Difficulty: Yet afterwards he went over, but I heard of no Proceedings against him. We had Stories at *Dundalk*, and afterwards, that the Beef and Brandy, and what other things we received from the Stores, were all poisoned; but all this was Stuff, and believed by no Body of Sense. I heard indeed some Masters of Ships (who had their Vessels laden with Provisions for *Ireland*) say, that he stop'd them all at *High-Lake* and *Liverpool*, threatening to seize them if they came over, for he had undertaken to provide the Army with every thing. I am a Stranger to Mr. Shales, and yet I believe him to be a Man of more Sense than that comes to; and further I have heard some people say, that were near him in his sickness, that he was not at all concerned, as being not conscious to himself of any thing he had done which he ought not, but yet he used to say, that he would set the Saddle upon the Right Horse.

Col. Langston dies at *Lisburn* in a Fever, and my Ld. *Hewer*, and my Ld. *Roscommon* of the same Distemper at *Chester*; and the Fever was very violent at this time all the North of *Ireland* over, insomuch that it was impossible to come into any House but some were Sick or Dead, especially at *Belfast* where the Hospital was. I have sometime stood upon the Street there and seen ten or a dozen

A great Mortality.

zen Corps (of the Towns-People) go by in little more than *December*.
half an Hour.

Towards the latter end of *December*, Major General *Mackarty* made his Escape from *Inniskillin*, who had remained there a Prio- Major General
Mackarty
Escapes. soner ever since the Rout at *Newtown-Butler*; he had been Sick, and at that time writ to Major General *Kirk* to get leave of the Duke to have his Guard removed, which he complained of was troublesome in his Sickness, this was done; but at his Recovery (they say) a Serjeant and some Men were put upon him again. The Town it seems stands upon a Lough, and the Water came to the Door of the House where he was confined, or very near it. He found means to corrupt a Serjeant, and so got two small Boats, called Cotts, to carry him and his best Moveables off in the Night. The Serjeant went along with him, but returned that Night to deliver a Letter, which, and *Mackarty's* Pass, being found in the Lining of his Hat, he was the next Day shot for it.

The General was much concerned when he heard of *Mackarty's* Escape, and said he took him to be a Man of Honour, but he would not expect that in an Irish-Man any more. Col. *Hamilton*, the Governour of *Inniskillin*, was blamed for this Negligence, but he came to *Lisburn* and desired a Tryal, which could not be for want of Field Officers till the 15th of *March*, at what time he produced Major General *Kirk's* Letter to him, by which he was cleared.

About *Christmas* there happened an unlucky Accident at *Belfast*; *Craumer*, *Bowls* and *Morley*, three Lieutenants in Major General *Kirk's* Regiment, happened to kill two Masters of Ships, and being tryed by a Court-Marshall, the thing appeared so ill, that they were all three Shot.

On the 8th and 10th of *January* there were several Regiments broke one into another, by reason of the fewness of Men in them, *viz.* The Regiments broke, were my Lord *Drogheda's*, Col. *Zanch's*, Sir *Henry Inglesby's*, Lord *Roscommon's*, Col. *Hamilton's*; and the Officers were continued at half Pay, till there could be Provision made for them in other Regiments. The 12th, 16th. and 20th. several Officers went over into *England* for Recruits. And Sir *Thomas Newcomb's* House, in the County of *Longford*, was

January.

January. was surrendred upon very good Terms, it being held out by his Sir Thomas Newcomb's house surrendred Lady against a great Party of the Irish; for the House is strongly situated, and she got about 200 of her Tenants into it; who defended the Place till the Irish brought Field-pieces against it, tho it was above 20 Miles from any of our Garrisons. Of the Men that were in it one hundred of them were entertained by Sir John Hammer in his Regiment, and the rest were provided for by the Duke at Lisburn.

But though our Army had been much afflicted with Sickness and Mortality, yet this was little taken notice of by a great many, who gave themselves up to all the Wickedness imaginable, especially that ridiculous Sin of Swearing: of which complaint

A Proclamation against Swearing. being made to the Duke by several of the Clergy then at Lisburn, and frequent Sermons preached against it; this occasioned the Duke to set out a Proclamation, bearing date January 18.

Strictly forbidding Cursing, Swearing, and Profaneness in Commanders and Souldiers; which, he said, were Sins of much Guilt and little Temptation; but that several were so wicked as to invoke God more frequently to damn them than to save them; and that notwithstanding the dreadful Judgments of God at that time upon us for those and such like Sins, fearing that their Majesty Army was more prejudiced by those Sins, than advantaged by the Courage or Conduct of those guilty of them. And therefore he commanded all Officers and Souldiers in his Army from thence forward to forbear all vain Cursing, Swearing, and taking God's holy Name in vain, under the Penalties enjoined by the Articles of War, and of his utmost Displeasure: Commanding also the said Articles to be put in the strictest execution. For no doubt the Debaucheries in Armies are the high way to Ruin, since those both obey and fight best that are most sober.

Brigadier Stuart's Stratagem to fall upon the Irish. January 22. Brigadier Stuart with a Party of 500 Horse and Foot went from Rosstriver and Newry beyond the Mountains towards Dundalk and Carlingford, burning most of the Cabbins where the Irish sheltered themselves, and took a considerable Prey of Cattle. The Irish had some People dwelt among us, who had agreed upon giving them a Sign when any Party of ours was to march out, which was by making Fires in several Places: this the Brigadier understood by prisoner, and so made Fires there

three or four times, which alaram'd the Irish at first ; but when they found it done several times, and no Party appear, they neglected the Sign : so that when our Party marched indeed, they took no notice of it, which gave the Brigadier opportunity of marching where he pleased, without opposition.

There came one Mr. King an Attorney from the Enemies Quarters, and gave the Duke an account how things stood at *Dublin*. And about this time the Irish had got a trick (having always good Intelligence) to come in the night, and surprize our Men in their Beds, as they quartered in the Country in singlie Housles. They stole five or six of my Lord *Drogheda*'s Men nigh *Tondragee*, which obliged the Officers to order all the Men to lie in the Town for the future. The 25th, of *January* the Duke went from *Lisburn* to *Legacory*, and so to several Places on the Frontiers, as Lieut. Gen. *Douglas* had done before. And a great Store was ordered at * *Armagh*, and several others up and down the Country, for the most conveniency to the adjoining Garisons.

On Sunday *Febr. 2.* a Party of my Lord *Drogheda*'s Regiment of 100 Men, with 20 Dragoons, and about 60 of the Country People marched from *Tondragee* and *Market-hill* : Their businels was to surprize two Companies of Irish Foot, who lay nigh the Mountains of *Slavegillion*, and defended a great number of Cattel there. The Enemy had some notice of their coming, and seem'd to design fighting, but considered better of it, and ran away ; 17 of them took to a Bog, in which were taken one Lieutenant *Murphy* and four more, one Man being killed only ; our People brought home about 500 Cattel.

February the 8th, the General had an account that the Enemy were drawing down some Forces towards *Dundalk*, and that they had laid in great Store of Corn, Hay, and other Provisions, in order to disturb our Frontier Garisons from thence. The Duke sent a Ship or two towards *Dundalk*, who burnt some of the Irish Gabbards : But the Report of these Forces obliged the General to send a considerable Body of Horse and Foot that way ; and he himself, *February* the 11th, went towards *Drummore*, in order to wait the Enemies Motion. (It was very observable how much the Men and Horses were now recovered from what they had been two months before.)

Sir *John Lanier* and Col. *La Milliner* were sent out with a Party, who went as far as *Carlingford*, and returned with an account that

January.
* *Armagh* is the
Metropolitan of
the whole Island,
where S. Patrick
the Irish Apostle
ruled in his life-
time, and they
say rested after
death (tho' there
is as much Con-
tentio[n] about his
Grave as Ho-
mer's) in honour
of whom it was
of such venera-
ble estimation in
that time, that
not only Bish[ops],
and Priests, but
Princes paid
their great Re-
spe[cts].

February.

The General
draws some For-
ces into the field.

February.
1690

that there were only three Regiments at *Dundalk* as formerly. But the design of the Irish lay another way: for whilst the Duke was upon this Expedition, Col. *Woolsey* had notice that the Irish had a design to fall upon *Belturbet*; to which purpose a considerable Number of them was come to *Cavan*, and more to follow in a day or two. Col. *Woolsey* to prevent them, marched from *Belturbet* with 700 Foot, and 300 Horse and Dragoons; he began his march in the evening, thinking to surprize the Enemy next Morning early, (the distance between being about 8 miles;) but he met with so many difficulties in his march, (and the Enemy had notice of his coming) that instead of being at the Place before day, as he designed, it was half an hour after day-break before he came in sight of it; so that instead of surprizing them, the first thing our Men saw was a Body of the Enemy drawn up in good order, judged to be nigh 4000: this was severe, but there was no help for it, fight we must, for retreating was dangerous. Col. *Woolsey* encourages his Men, and tells them the Advantages of being brave, and the inevitable Ruin of the whole Party if they proved otherwise: they were as ready to go on as he to desire it: And then he sends an advance-Party of *Inniskillin* Dragoons towards the Enemy, who were presently charged by a great Party of the Enemies Horse, and beat back past the Front of our own Foot, who were so enraged at them, that some of M. G. *Kirk's* and Col. *Wharton's* Men fired, and killed 7 or 8: some of the Enemies Horse pursued them so far, that many of them were kill'd by our Foot as they endeavoured to get off. By this time the Body of our Party was advanced pretty near the Irish, who were posted upon the Top of a rising Ground not far from the Town: As our Men advanced up the Hill, the Irish fired a whole Volley upon them, and then set up the Huzzah, but scarce kill'd a Man, (for they shot over them;) our Men however went on till they were got within Pistol-shot of them, and then fired, by which they galled the Irish so, that they immediately run towards the Town: We pursued, and they retired to a Fort; but Col. *Woolsey's* Men falling to plunder in the Town, the Irish sallied out, and gave us a very fierce Attack. Col. *Woolsey* having 250 Foot and about 80 Horse for a Reserve, the Enemy was beat off again, their Horse flying beyond the Town, and their Foot taking to the Fort. Our Souldiers got good store of Shoes, and all sorts of Provisions, and about 4000 pounds in Brass Money, a great deal of which the Souldiers threw about the Streets as not thinking it worth the car-

carriage ; their Ammunition was blow up, and their Provisions destroyed (for Colonel *Woolfely* was forced to set the Town on fire to get his own Men out in the time of the Salley.) The Colonel knew not what might happen, and therefore he drew off his Men, and marched homewards. The *Irish* they say were commanded by the Duke of *Berwick*, who had his Horse shot under him ; and in two or three days they were to have 10000. Men at *Cavan* to fall upon *Bulturbet*, and other places. The Enemy lost in this Expedition, Brigadeer *Nugent*, and as they say *O Riley*, Governour of *Cavan*, with a great many Officers, and about 300 Souldiers.

In this Action we lost about thirty, with Major *Traberne*, Capt. *Armstrong*, and Capt. *Mayo*, who were killed by pursuing too far ; a *French* Reformed Officer, and Capt. *Blood*, and an *Ingineer*, were wounded. We took twelve Officers, and about sixty Souldiers Prisoners, who were brought soon after to *Carickfergus*. I have spoke with severall *Irish* Officers since, and they will not allow their Loss to be so great, or ours so little in this Action as we make them, yet give us the Advantage to a great degree.

At the General's return to *Lisburn*, he received an Account from Colonel *Woolsely* of this Action, much to the same effect as I have related it. And on the 15th. of February, Sir *John Lanier*, with a Party of 1000 Horse, Foot and Dragoons, went from *Newry* towards *Dunkalk* ; it was in the Evening when he marched, and next Morning early, being *Sunday*, he appeared before the Town. The Enemy had Fortified it very well, so that the Major-General did not think fit to attaque it, (nor do I believe he had any Orders to do it) he drew up his Foot however on the side of an Hill, between the left of our old Horse-Camp and the Town, a good Musquet-shot from the Bridg , his Horse he sent nearer, somewhat to the Right at the side of the Lane. The Enemy at the Allarm appeared without the Town at first ; but as we advanced, they retreated, till they got within their Works, from whence they fired incessantly. Whilst the main Body was so posted, Major General *Lanier* sent a party of Horse and Dragoons beyond the River, who burnt the West part of the Town, from *Mortimer Castle* to *Blake's House*, (being a great part of the Suburbs.) At the same time a Party of Col. *Lewisson's* Dragoons attaqu'd *Bedloe's Castle*, and took the Ensign that Commanded it, with 30 Prisoners ; we lost a Lieutenant and three or four Dragoons, and had four Horses shot. Our Men brought from beyond the Town,

Sir *John Lanier's* Expedition to *Dundalk*.

February. and about it, nigh 1500 Cows and Horses : The Ensign that was taken, was brought to *Lisburn*, and carried before the Duke into his Garden, where he commonly used to walk before Dinner : Before the Duke ask'd him any Questions, me-thought he gave him a pretty Caution to be sincere in his Answers. (though the General knew at the same time, he being a Prisoner, was not obliged to say any thing ;) You (says the Duke) have a Commission, and for that reason (if not otherwise) you are a Gentleman ; this obliges you to speak Truth, which if you do not, I can know it by examining of other Prisoners, and then I shall have no good Opinion of you. After some publick Questions, the Duke took him aside, and talk'd with him nigh half an hour ; but I suppose he could, or at least would say little that was material.

March.

The Danes arrive in Ireland.

The beginning of *March*, come 400 Danes from *Whitehaven* to *Belfast*, and the Week following all the Foot arrived from *Chester*, with the Prince the *Wittemberg* their General : The Duke went down to see them, and was very well pleased, for they were lusty Fellows, and well Cloathed and Armed.

Monsieur Callimot with his Regiment was posted upon the *Blackwater* nigh *Charlemont*, and had kept them in very much on that side during Winter. On the 8th. of *March* he took possession of a little Village within less than two miles of the Castle ; the Enemy at first pretended to dislodg us, but having lost three of their Men, they retired.

Monsieur Callimot's Design upon Charlemont Bridg.

On the 12th. at Night, *Col. Callimot* went, with a Party of his own, and some of *Colonel St. John's* Regiment, being in all about 80. Soldiers and 20. Officers, with those he designed to cut down the Bridg at *Charlemont*, (it being Wood) and so prevent the *Irish* from making Excursions in the Night as they used to do. In order to which, he put his Men into three Boats, and coming up the River within a mile of *Charlemont*, he landed his Men ; and though they were discovered at a distance, yet he marched up to the Bridg and set Fire to it, taking a Redoubt at the Bridg-end, as also another near the Gate that leads to *Armagh*, killing about 20. But Day coming on, the Colonel thought it convenient to retreat, having lost only five or six Men ; but *Major De la Bord* was killed as he went off ; *Lieut. Col. Belcassel*, and a Captain whose Name was *Le Rapin*, wounded. This Attempt was very brave, for the Castle it self was within Musquet-shot of the Bridg, and nearer to those Works that we took. About this time were four

Prisoners

Prisoners brought to *Lisburn* that were taken nigh *Charlemont*; they gave an Account, that the Garrison had been relieved some time before, and that the Souldiers and Officers who came in lately, did not like *Teague O Regan's* Government; that Bread and Salt were scarce within, and that they believed the Garrison could not hold out long if they had not fresh supplys of Victuals. All this while the General was daily sending up Provisions to our Stores upon the Frontieress so that our Men were pretty well supplied every where; but the Ways were very bad, and Carriages scarce, so that the Trouble and Charge were both extraordinary.

We had News before this, that his Majesty designed to come in Person for *Ireland* against the succeeding Campagne; and now it was made certain, which was great Satisfaction to all, both Officers and Souldiers, and that upon several Accounts; some had been displeased, judging they had not fair play in their Preferments: others hoped to shew themselves worthy the King's Notice by their future Actions; and most People expected a considerable sum of Money to pay off the Army.

Then every one knew his Majesty's Industry, Courage, and Resolution to be so great, that he would endeavour to make a quick dispatch; and therefore, upon some account or other, all our Friends were pleased with it, and the greatest of our Enemies daunted to hear the News.

The 14th of March about 5000 French Foot landed at *King'sale* The French Land at King'sale, with two Generals, Count *Lauzun* and the Marquess *de Lery*. *K. James* sending back Maj. Gen. *Mackarty* with as many *Irish*. Our Fleet was then attending the Queen of *Spain*, which made this Undertaking very easy to the French.

The 23d. of March Col. *Woolsey* sent out a Party beyond *Carvan* to bring in some Cattle for the use of his Garrison; they got 1000 Head, and were pursued by the Enemy, but they brought off their Prey, and kill'd about 20 or 30. Clothes, Arms, Ammunition and Provision, arrived daily at *Belfast* from *England*.

April the 6th Col. *Woolsey*, with a detach'd Party of 700 Men; went to Attaque the Castle of *Killishandra*, about seven miles from *Belturbet*; which after he had fix'd his Mines, and made some brisk Attaque on it, (the Men firing in upon the Enemy at their Spike-holes) they surrendered to him; there being 160 Men in it, commanded by one Capt. *Darchey*: We lost about eight.

March.

His Majesty's Expedition into Ireland ascertained.

April.

Killishandro taken.

April.



eight Men in this Action, and left 100 Men in Garrison ther e
Near the time of Colonel *Woolsey's* return, the General sent a Battalion of *Danes* to reinforce him at *Belturbet*.

On the 8th Col. *Cutts*, and Col. *Babington's*, with a Regiment of *Danish Horse*, and some Recruits, landed at *Whitehouse* and marched to *Belfast*. And on the 10th. Col. *Tiffin* sent out a Party from *Bellishannon*, who brought off a Prey from the Neighbourhood of *Sligo*, and killed about 16. of the Enemy as they pursued them.

Sir Clovesly Shovel came on the 12. to *Belfast*, as Convoy to several Ships that brought over Necessaries for the Army; and there having Intelligence of a Frigat at Anchor in the Bay of *Dublin*, and several other small Vessels loaden with Hides, Tallow, Wools, some Plate, and several other things designed for *France*, he sailed April the 18th. (being Good-Friday,) to the Mouth of the Bay of *Dublin*, and there leaving the *Monk*, and some more great Ships, he took the *Monmouth* Yatch, and one or two more, with several Long-Boats, and went to *Polebeg*, where the Frigat lay, (being one half of the *Scotch* Fleet that was taken in the Channel the Year before) having sixteen Guns and four Patterroes. King *James* when he heard of it, said, *It was some of his Loyal Subjects of England returning to their duty and Allegiance*; but when he saw them draw near the Ship, and heard the firing, he rid out towards *Rings-end*, whither gathered a vast crowd of People of all sorts, and there were several Regiments drawn out if it were possible, to kill those Bold Fellows at Sea, who durst on such a good day perform so wicked a deed (as they called it.) Capt. *Bennet* that commanded the Frigat, run her on Ground, and after several firings from some other Ships of theirs, as also from that, when they saw a Fire-ship coming in (which *Sir Clovesly* had given a Sign to) they all quitted the Frigat, being at first about 40. but they lost six or seven in the Action. *Sir Clovesly* was in the *Monmouth*-Yatch where Capt. *Wright* was very serviceable both in carrying in the Fleet, and in time of Action. In going off, one of our Hoys ran a-Ground, and was dry when the Tide was gone; the rest of the Boats were not far off, being full of Armed Men; and a *Frenchman*, one of K. *James's* Guards, coming nigh the Boats to fire his Pistols in a Bravo, had his Horse shot under him, and was forced to fling off his Jack-Boots and run back in his stockings to save himself; some of the Sea-men went on Shore and took his

his Saddle and Furniture. When the Tide came in, they went off with their Prize to the Ships below. K. James went back very much dissatisfy'd, and 'twas reported he should say, *That all the Protestants in Ireland were of Cromwell's Breed, and deserved to have their Throats cut*: but whatever his thoughts might be, I suppose his discretion would not allow him to say so. However all the Protestants that walked that way during the Action, were secured in Prison, and two made their escape to our Boats.

May.
Relief put into Charlemont.

May the 2d. Col. *Mackmahon* with a Detachment of between 4 and 500 Men got in the night over the Bogs into *Charlemont*, with Ammunition and some small quantities of Provisions. Monsieur *Davesant*, Lieut. Col. to *Cambon*, having notice of it, and that they would return in a small time, he divided his Men into three Parties, and the third Night after their going in, they were marching out again (or at least others in their stead;) the Road they took was where one Cap. *La Charry* with forty Men was placed; he let their Van go past him, then fired upon their main Body, and killed eight, with an Officer, the rest retired again to *Charlemont*, leaving for haste 110 Musquets, six Halbards, some Drums, and several other things behind them. They made a second Attempt the same day, and at night they sallied out again upon some of Col. *Callimont*'s Men, who retreated to 40 of Col. *Cutt's*, and then beat in the *Irish* again, killing nine, and taking six Prisoners: An Account of this being given to the General, he sent two more Regiments of Foot to assist at the Bloccade, and some say he knew of *Mackmahons* going in, and ordered they should suffer him to pass, for he knew their stay there presently would bring the Garrison so low, that they would be forced to Surrender. When old *Teague O Regan* saw his Party beat in again two or three times, he was so Angry, that he swore, *If they could not get out, they should have no Entertainment nor Lodging within*: And he was as good as his word, for they were forced to make little Huts in the dry Ditch within the Palisadoes, and upon the Counterscarp, few or none of them being admitted within the Gates of the Castle: so that what between *Teague* on one side, and our Army on the other, the poor Fellows were in a most lamentable Condition.

During these Transactions, there came Ships every day from *England* with whatever was needful for the Army, and in the *England*, *Supplies from* *second*

May.

Second Week of *May* there landed a Regiment of *Brandenburghers* with three *Dutch*, and a great many *English* Regiments; and by this time all the Recruits were come, and the Regiments cloathed, so that we had an excellent Army, though there wanted as yet a great part of the Train, and several other things, which His Majesty did not think fit to leave *England* till they were in a readiness. The General had sent several Regiments up towards *Charlemont*, who now take the Field, and encamp almost round it; Cannon, and Mortars were also sent up that way, in order to force old *Teague* out of his Nest, if he would not quit it willingly.

The General had sent him a Summons sometime before, but he was very surly, and bid the Messenger tell his Master from *Teague O Regan*, that he's *an old Knafe, and by St. Patrick he shall not have the Town at all*, (and God knows there was no Town standing but the old Castle.) The Duke only smiled at the Answer, and said, *he would give Teague greater Reasons to be angry in a small time*. Oui Forces now lying so near them, and two Detachments being kept there against their wills, made every thing so very scarce, that they were reduced to great Straits, and no hopes of Relief appearing, on the 12th. of *May*, the Governour (having got leave from the Officer Commanding without, and a Guard for them) sent a Lieutenant-Colonel, and a Captain, with Terms of Surrender to the Duke, which with some Amendments were agreed to, for the Duke had an Account that the place was very strong, and therefore, he chose rather to give them Terms, than to spend time about it, since greater Matters were then in hand, and his Majesty was expected over very suddenly; the General ordered the *Irish* Officers to be treated very civilly, and then the Articles were signed as followeth,

Charlemont surrendered.

The Articles.

1. **T**hat all the Garrison, (viz.) Governour, Officers, Souldiers, Gunners, and all other Inhabitants (the Deserters who run from us since the first of September last excepted) shall have their Lives secured, and march out with their Arms, Bag and Baggage, Drums beating, Colours flying, lighted Matches, Bullets in their Mouths, each Officer and Souldier 12 Charges of Powder, with Match and Ball proportionable, and their Horses, without any Molestation in their Persons and Goods now in their possession (not belonging to the Stores) upon any pretence whatsoever.

2. **T**hat

2. That the said Garrison may march the nearest way to Dundalk, and not be compell'd to march above eight or nine miles a Day.

3. That all sick and wounded Officers, and other Persons that are not able to march at present, may remain within the said Garrison till they are able to march, and then to have a Pass to go to the next Irish Garrison.

4. That none of the Army under his Grace's Command shall enter the said Fort, except such as are appointed by him to take possession of the same, till the Garrison be marched clear out of the Gates.

5. That there shall be a sufficient Convoy appointed for the said Garrison to conduct them to the place before mentioned.

6. That they shall deliver fully and wholly, without any imbezzlement or diminution, all the Stores belonging to the said Fort; And that an Officer shall be immediately admitted to take an Account of the same.

7. That the Fort shall be put into the possession of such Forces as his Grace shall think fit, at eight of the Clock on Wednesday, being the 14th day of May, at which Hour the said Garrison shall march out; and an Hour before the outward Gate shall be delivered to such Forces as his Grace shall appoint, in Case a supply of one Month's Provision for 800 Men be not brought into the Garrison for their Relief, between the signing hereof and the said time.

8. That the above-mentioned Articles shall be inviolably performed on both sides, without any Equivocation, mental Reservation, or Fraud whatsoever, according to the true intent and meaning thereof.

Lastly, All Acts of Hostility shall cease between the said Garrison and Army, so soon as notice can be given on both sides.

The Articles being signed, a Truce was published, and the General sent Robert Alloway Esquire, Commissary of the Train, to take an Account of the Stores in the Garrison; and all the next day the Country People were buying Goods from those of the Garrison; some of our Officers were invited in, and some of theirs came into our Camp. At the time appointed they marched out; and then drew up before the Gate, four Companies of Col. Babington's Regiment marching in. Most of our Regiments that thereabouts were drawn up as the Irish marched along towards Armagh, being all well Clothed and Armed, which made the Irish a little out of Countenance to see it. The Colonel of the Brandenburgh Regiment seem'd very much concern'd, that he should come so far to fight against such Scoundrels as the

May.

Irish seem'd by their Habits to be; some few of the Detachments being only as yet well clothed, though their Arms look'd well enough, and most of their Army had new Clothes afterwards.

The General himself went that morning from Legacory to see the Castle of Charlemont; and after the Irish had marched about half a Mile from it, they drew up in two Battalions, (about 400 Men in each) and there stood, till the General came to see them; besides the Souldiers, they had also above 200 Irish Women and Children, who stood in a Body by themselves between the two

A Description of
the Governor,

Battalions. Old Teague the Governour was mounted upon an old Ston'd Horse, and he very lame with the Scratches, Spavin, Ring-bones, and other Infirmities; but withal so vicious, that he would fall a kicking and squeeling if any Body came near him. Teague himself had a great Bunch upon his Back, a plain Red Coat, an old weather-beaten Wig hanging down at full length, a little narrow white Beaver cock'd up, a yellow Cravat-string but that all on one side, his Boots with a thousand wrinkles in them; and though it was a very hot day, yet he had a great Muff hanging about him, and to crown all, was almost tipsy with Brandy. Thus mounted and equipp'd, he approached the Duke with a Complement, but his Horse would not allow him to make it a long one, for he fell to work presently, and the Duke had scarce time to make him a civil Return; the Duke smiled afterwards, and said, *Teague's Horse was very mad, and himself very drunk.* The General then viewed the Irish Battalions, who all, both Officers and Souldiers, (after they had made him a great many Legs) stared upon him as if they knew not whether he was a Man, or some other strange Creature, for the Irish were generally wont to ask one another, *what is that Shambear that all this talk is of?* The Duke seeing so many Women and Children, ask'd *the reason of keeping such a number in the Garrison, which, no doubt, destroyed their Provisions?* He was answered, *that the Irish were naturally very hospitable, and that they all fared alike;* but the greatest reason was, *the Souldiers would not stay in the Garrison without their Wives and Mistresses.* The Duke reply'd, *That there was more Love then Policy in it:* and after some small time returned to the Castle, which he rid round first without the Palisado's, and then within the Rampart.

Of the Garrison,

The Place is very strong, both by Nature and Art, being seated upon a piece of Ground (not four Acres) in the middle of a Bog, and only two ways to come to it, which the Irish had partly

And of the Ca-
p.

partly broke down: They had also burnt and destroyed all the Country about it, being well inhabited formerly. The Town of *Charlement* stood by the Castle, as we were told, but the *Irish* had so levelled it, that nothing remained to show that ever there had been any such thing; yet they had cast up several Forts and Breastworks to prevent our Approaches to the Castle, which of it self is a very regular Fortification. It's first palisado'd round, then a dry Ditch and Counterscarp; within this a double Rampart, and next a thick Stone-wall, with Flankers and Bastions almost every way; there are two Draw-bridges, and both well fortified; and within all stood the Magazines, with a large square Tower, where *Teague*, his Officers, and a great many of the Soldiers dwelt. They had left no Provisions in the Castle but a little dirty Meal, and part of a Quarter of musty Beef: And certainly they were reduced to great Necessity, for as they marched along, several of them were chawing and feeding very heartily upon pieces of dried Hides, with Hair and all on. In *Teague's* own Room I saw several Papers; amongst the rest a Copy of a Letter writ formerly to some about K. *James*, giving an Account of the State of the Garison; and withal, a very true Relation of our Proceedings in several things, which shewed they wanted not Intelligence. One thing tho was false, for there it was said, that the *Creights*, by coming down, and taking Protections from the General, had furnished us with Cattle and Provisions, when as we were ready to starve before. But that was an *Irish* Fancy, for several of the *Creights* came down, and would have staid; but we sent them back because they brought nothing with them; and as to our selves, we were well supplied, either from the Stores, or from the Country.

There were two Priests in the Garison, and there happened a pleasant Adventure between one of them and a Dragoon of Col. *Hefford's* Regiment, as they were guarding the *Irish* towards *Armagh*: they fell into Discourse about Religion, the Point in hand was *Transubstantiation*; the Dragoon being a pleasant witty Fellow, drolled upon the Priest, and put him so to it, that he had little to say: upon which he grew so angry, that he fell a beating the Dragoon; but he not being used to Blows, thrash'd his Fatherhood very severely. Upon which complaint being made to *Teague* as he was at Dinner with our Officers at *Armagh*; all that he said was, *That he was very glad of it, What te Deal had he to do to dispute Religion with a Dragoon?* The Duke ordered every one

May.

of the Irish Souldiers a Loaf out of the Stores at *Armagh*; and the Officers were all civilly entertained, which made them go away very well satisfied with the General, and highly commanding our Army. There were in the Castle 17 Guns, most of which were Brass, one large Mortar-piece, Bombs, Hand-Granadoes, Match, and small Bullets a great quantity; as also 83 Barrels of Powder, with a great many Arms, and other things of use.

I know a great many blamed the Duke for not taking this Castle before he went to *Dundalk*, for then he might have had it for asking; however, it was not good to leave it behind him: but it's a mistake, for the *Irish* had then a good Garison in it, and the General could not at that time divide his Army, nor yet whilst he lay at *Dundalk* was it safe to endeavour it.

Charlemont was built by Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, who in *Q. Elizabeth's* Time had several Skirmishes with *O-Neal* Earl of *Tyrone* in this Country, and built this Fort a little below a former One that was called *Mount-Joy*, and this he called after his Christian Name *Charlemont*. It was afterwards improved by the present Lord *Charlemont's* Grand-father, and sold to the King, as being a Place of Strength and Conveniency to keep the Northern *Irish* in their Duty. It stands upon the *Black-water*, which runs from thence to *Port-a-down*, where in 1641 a great many Protestants were drowned by the *Irish*.

But to return. The same day that *Charlemont* was surrendered, Col. *Woolsey* went with a Party of 1200 Men to a Castle called *Bellingargy*, in which the Enemy had a Garison of above 200 Men. This was seated in a great Water, so that our Men must wade up to the middle to come at it. Col. *Fouks* commanded the Foot, and marched at the Head of them through the Water. The Enemy fired and killed us several Men; however they saw we were resolved to have it; and so after several Fascons brought to fill up the Ditches, and smart firings on both sides, they hung out their white Flag, and agreed to march away without their Arms. Col. *Woolsey* going down to encourage the Men, was shot in the *Scrotum*, but soon recovered. We had 17 Men killed, 43 wounded, besides two Captains and an Ensign killed.

About the middle of *May* came one Capt. *King*, Mr. *Wingfield* a Lawyer, and Mr. *Trench* a Clergy-man, with five or six more from *Dublin*, in an open Boat, and gave the Duke a more exact Account than any he had formerly, how all things went with the *Irish*. As to the Civil Affairs, the Government was in the hands of Five, (viz.)

Bellingargy
taken.

Three Gentlemen
come from Dub-
lin, with an ex-
act Account of
the Posture of
Affairs there.

(viz.) my Lord Tyrconnel, Sir Stephen Rice Lord Chief Baron, Lord Chief Justice Nugent, Bruno Talbot Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir William Ellis. All Business in Matters Civil was done by them; and if a Protestant petitioned the late King, it was referred to those, and never any answer given, except it was indorsed on the Back; *This solicited by such an One*, who must be some eminent Papist, and then perhaps it was answered. These Men ordered all the Protestants Goods to be seized, that were fit for Traffick, and sent to France. The late King pretended to pay them the half value in Brass Money, but that was scarce ever got; and often if a Man was known to have Money, he was sent to Goal under pretence of High-Treason. Col. Simon Lutteril was Governor of Dublin. As to the Churches, the late King seemed to incline to continue Protestants in them; but what endeavours he made to restore Churches in the Country, they were frustrated; sometimes under pretence that the King had no Power in those Matters (and some say he never design'd they should) and therefore his Orders were not to be obeyed, or else his Clergy had not so easily dissuaded him from performing what he had promised, except in the Business about the Church of Limerick, wherein he observed, that when it was for the purpose of the Papists to have the Protestants turned out of Town, then they were very numerous, and consequently dangerous; but when the contrary answered their Ends, as in the Instance of desiring the Church of Limerick, then the Protestants were made very few, which he took notice of, and the Protestants at Limerick keep the Catheral all this while. They gave an account also that our Churches were generally shut up, upon any Alarm from Sea, or Report from the Army, and the Protestants imprisoned.

As to the Military Affairs, they gave an Account, that the French about 5000 Men, came to Dublin some time after their landing, being well armed and clothed. Soon after, the possession of the Town and Castle were given to Lauzun, whom the French acknowledged to serve, and not K. James; and they were generally at free-Quarter upon the Protestants; nor would Monsieur Lauzun set his Guards in Town till he had possession of the Castle. That all care was taken to provide Clothes for the Army, by obliging the Clothiers to make so many Yards of Cloth a Month; the Hatters, Hats; the Shoemakers, Shoes, &c. And that they had considerable Stores of Corn and other Provisions at Drogheda, Trim, Navan, Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny, Athlone and Limerick.

May.

Limerick. The Method they proposed to deal with K. *William's* Army, was, to make good the Palls upon the *Newry* Mountains, and at *Dundalk*, to spin out the War, as by Order from *France*, and dispute their Ground without a general Battel till they came to the *Boyne*, and there to defend the Pals but still without a Battel, if they could help it, they hoping in a small time to hear some extraordinary thing from a Party for K. *James* in *England*, and from the *French Fleet*. Those and several other things they gave an Account of, first to the Duke, and afterwards to the King.

Towards the latter end of *May* we had several small Parties that went abroad, one to *Finnab*, and another to *Kells*, bringing off Horses, Cattel, and some Prisoners. And the 6th of *June* Count *Schonberg* came to *Belfast*. At the same time arrived our Train, some Arms, Ammunition, and 200 Carpenters and other Artificers for the Service of the Army.

June.

The King arrives in Ireland.

And now the general talk and expectation was of the King's coming over, who left *Kensington* the 4th of *June*, took Shipping at *Hightlake* the 12th, and on the 14th, being Saturday, he landed at *Carickfergus* about four a Clock in the Afternoon. His Majesty went through part of the Town and viewed it; and notice being given immediately to the General, (who had prepared Sir *William Franklin's* House at *Belfast* for his Majesty's Reception, and was there attending his Landing) his Grace went in his Coach, with all speed, to wait on the King: Maj. Gen. *Kirk*, and several Officers that were there expecting the King's landing, attended the Duke; his Majesty was met by them near the White-House, and received them all very kindly, coming in the Duke's Coach to *Belfast*; he was met also without the Town by a great Concource of People, who at first could do nothing but stare, never having seen a King before in that part of the World; but after a while, some of them beginning to *Huzzah*, the rest all took it (as Hounds do a scent) and followed the Coach through several Regiments of Foot that were drawn up in Town towards his Majesty's Lodgings, and happy were they that could but get a sight of him.

That Evening his Highness Prince *George*, the Duke of *Ormond*, my Lord of *Oxford*, my Lord *Scarborough*, my Lord *Manchester*, the Honourable Mr. *Boyle*, and a great many Persons of Quality landed, only Maj. Gen *Scravenmore* staid at *Chester* till all things were come over, who has taken a great deal of pains in our *Irish Expedition*. There came also some Money a-shore, but exceedingly

ly short of what was hoped for. Next day the King heard a Sermon preached by Dr. Royse, on Heb. 6. 11. Through Faith they subdued Kingdoms; and the same day came several of the Nobility, Officers, Gentry and Clergy to wait on his Majesty; And on Munday Lieut. Gen. Douglass came from Hambleton's Ban where he had been Encamped for nigh a Fortnight, and Dr. Walker, with a great many more of the Episcopal Clergy, presented his Majesty with an Address, being introduced by Duke Schonberg and the Duke of Ormond.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty, The humble Address of the Clergy of the Church of Ireland now in Ulster.

Great Sir, We your Majesty's Loyal Subjects, out of the deepest sense of the Blessing of this Day with most joyful Hearts congratulate your Majesty's safe Landing in this Kingdom. And as we must always praise God for the Wonders he hath already wrought by your Majesty's Hands, so we cannot but admire and applaud Your remarkable Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and the Peace of these Kingdoms. We owe all imaginable Thanks to God, and Acknowledgment to your Majesty, for the Calm and Safety we have enjoyed by the Success of your Arms, under the happy and wise Management of his Grace the Duke of Schonberg. And we do not doubt but God will hear the Prayers of his Church, and crown your Majesty's Arms with such Success and Victory, that those happy beginnings of our Joy may terminate in a full Establishment of our Religion, and our Peace, and with lasting Honours to your Majesty. May Heaven bless and preserve your Majesty in such glorious Undertakings, give strength and prosperity to such generous Designs, that all your Enemies may flee before You; that your Subjects may rejoice in Your easy Victory, and that all the World may admire and honour You. Give us leave, great Sir, after the most humble and grateful manner, to offer ourselves to your Majesty, and to give all assurance of a steady Loyalty and Duty to your Majesty, of our Resolution to promote and advance your Service and Interest to the utmost of our Power. And that we will always with the most hearty importunity pray, That Heaven may protect your Royal Person from all Dangers, that we may long enjoy the Blessings of your Government and Victories, and that after a long and peaceful Reign here, God may change your Laurels into a Crown of Glory.

The King staid at Belfast till Thursday, where on the 19th he sent out a Proclamation, encouraging all People, of what persuasion soever, to live at Home peaceably, commanding the Officers and Soldiers, upon no Pretext whatever, to Rob or Plunder

June.

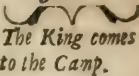
der them. That day the King dined at *Lisburn* with the General, and then went to *Hillsburgh*, where he sent out an Order on the 20th, forbidding the pressing of Horses from the Countrey People: And seeing that things did not go on so fast as he desired, he exprest some Dissatisfaction, saying, *That he did not come to the Army takes there to let Grass grow under his Feet.* And he made his Words good, for the whole Army now received Orders to march into the Field: on the 21th, several English Regiments met and encamped at *Loughbritland*, some being already at *Newry* with Maj. Gen. *Kirk*, and Lieut. Gen. *Douglas*, between *Hambleton's* Ban and *Tandree* with 22 Regiments of Foot, and eight or nine of Horse and Dragoons. The Enemy had formed a Camp sometime before this at *Ardee*, whither K. *James* came about the 18th, with 5000 French Foot, leaving Col. *Lutterel* with about 6000 of the Militia in *Dublin*; who when the late King was gone, shut up all the Protestants in Prison, so that all the Churches and publick Places were full of them. About the 19th or 20th the Enemies Army came and Encamped beyond the River at *Dundalk* all along where our last Camp had been the Year before.

The Enemy at
Dundalk.A Party of ours
falls into an
Ambush.

On Sunday Morning the 22d, a Party of Col. *Levisons* Dragoons, commanded by Capt. *Crow*, and a party of Foot under Capt. *Farlow*, in all about 200, went from *Newry* towards *Dundalk* to discover the Enemy, and to see if the Ways were mended according to the Duke's Order. We had sent out several small Parties before, and the Enemy had notice of it, which occasioned them to lay an Ambuscade of about 400 Men at a place half-way, where they had cast up some Works the Year before. In that next the Pass they had placed part of their Foot, and had the rest with the Horse some distance off; the Morning was very foggy and favoured their Design, so that after greatest part of our Foot were got over the Pass, and the Dragoons advanced about 200 Yards beyond it, then the *Irish* fired from the Fort; and at the same time another party charged our Dragoons, who being some of them Recruits, retreated past our own Foot, but most of them advanced again, and the Engagement was pretty sharp, yet our Party not knowing but the Enemy might have more Men in covert, retreated over the Pass and there drew up; but the *Irish* did not think fit to advance upon them. Capt. *Farlow* and another Gentleman were taken Prisoners, and we had about 22 kill'd; but the Enemy lost more, as we understood by some Deserters that came off next Day.

That

June.


 The King comes to the Camp.

that Afternoon his Majesty, Prince George, the General, the Duke of *Ormond*, and all the great Men came to the Camp at *Loughbritland*. The King had given Orders before His coming, that we should remove our Camp from the South-side of the Town to the North-west, that his Majesty might take a View of the Regiments as they marched: the Weather was then very dry and windy, which made the Dust in our Marching troublesome; I was of Opinion, with several others, that this might be uneasy to a King, and therefore believed that his Majesty would sit on Horseback at a distance in some convenient Place, to see the Men march by Him, but He was no sooner come, than He was in amongst the throng of them, and observed every Regiment very critically: This pleased the Soldiers mightily, and every one was ready to give what Demonstrations it was possible, both of their Courage and Duty. The King and the Prince had their moving Houses set up, and never after lay out of the Camp during Their stay in *Ireland*.

Those Houses
were made of
Wood, but so con-
venient that
they could be
set up in an
hours time.

His Majesty lost no Time, but sent Major General *Scraevemoor* (who was now come over) that Evening with 500 Horse and a good Detachment of Foot, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Caulfield*, to discover the Ways, and observe the Enemy; they marched over part of the Barony of *Phuse*, and almost to *Dundalk*, returning the 23d in the Evening: That Morning his Majesty with a Party of Horse went four Miles beyond *Newry*, and return'd towards the Evening to the Camp at *Loughbritland*: at His coming back some brought Him a Paper to sign about some Wine, and other things for his Majesty's own use; but He was dissatisfied that all things for the Soldiers were not so ready as he desired, and with some heat protested, that He would drink Water rather than his Men should want. A little after his Majesty received a Letter by an *Aid du Camp* from Major General *Kirk*, Acquainting the King, That the Party he sent out that Morning went as far as *Dundalk*, and seeing no Enemy, the Officer Commanding, sent a Trooper to the Mount beyond *Bedloes-Castle*, from thence he could see a great Dust towards a place called *Knock-Bridg*, by which he understood that the Enemy were marching off towards *Ardee*: his Majesty when He read the Letter, did not seem to be much concerned whe-

June.

ther they had staid or not. At the same time there were two Ensigns brought to Him, who had deserted the Enemy, and gave an Account, that the Body which then was removed from *Dundalk* was about 20000. It was the discovery of our Advance Parties which made them draw off, and they gave it out that they would stay for us at the *Boyne*. The King sent Orders back to the Major General to march a Party next Morning over the Pass towards *Dundalk*.

Our Army ad-
vances.

The 24th in the Morning Lieutenant-General *Douglas* decamped and marched over the Pass towards *Dundalk*: And that day His Majesty set out a Proclamation to be read at the Head of every Regiment, That no Officer or Soldier should forcibly take any thing from the Country People and Sutlers, nor press any Horses that were coming to the Camp; that thereby we might be the better supplied with Provisions. On the 25th we marched from *Loughbriland* to *Newry*, where a Deserter of Sir *Henry Bellasis*'s Regiment was shot. And on the 26th towards *Dundalk*, on our March, we heard great Shooting at Sea, which we once look'd upon to be the *French* and *English* Fleets, but it was only our own Fleet coming towards *Dundalk*. We encamped that Night about a Mile to the South-East of our last Year's Camp: as we got near to *Dundalk* some of my Lord *Meath*'s Men espied several of the *Irish* skulking, not far from the Road, to observe our March; they pursued them towards the Mountains, killed one, and took another, who proved a *French*-Man that had deserted from *Hillsborough* about three weeks before. On the 27th we marched through *Dundalk*, and encamped about a Mile beyond it, where the whole Army joined, *English*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, *Germans* and *French*, making in all not above 36000, though the World call'd us a third part more: but the Army was in all respects as well provided as any Kingdom in the World ever had one for the number of Men. That Afternoon a party of *Eppinger*'s Dragoons came within sight of a party of the Enemies Horse, who retreated towards their own Camp, which then was on this side the *Boyne*. I was told by a General Officer of theirs since, that whensoever our Army moved, the *Irish* had a small party of Horse that knew the Country, and kept themselves undiscovered in some convenient place

Their Number.

June.

place, to give them an Account of our Motions and Posture. They had fortified *Dundalk* last Winter very regularly and well, not, I suppose, that they did design to maintain it in the Spring, but to secure the Garison from any attempts that we might make during the Winter: as we went through the Town, we found several of the *Irish* that lay dead and unburied, and some were alive, but just only breathing. That evening a party of 1500 Horse and Dragoons went out, and next Morning early the King followed them. His Majesty went as far as *Ardee* and viewed the Ground where the Enemy encamped last Year; He returned to his Camp that night, but left the Party to make good that Post.

On Saturday Morning the 29th, there hap'ned an *Irish*-Man and a Woman to be near a Well that was by the King's Tent, they had got something about them which the Souldiers believed was Poison, to spoil the Waters, and so destroy the King and his Army; this spread presently abroad, and a great many Souldiers flocked about them, they were immediately both Judges and Executioners, hanged the Women, and almost cut the Man in pieces.

That afternoon the King views the *Danish* Forces, and early next Morning, being Sunday the 30th of June, the whole Army marched in three Lines beyond *Ardee*, which the Enemy had likewise fortified, especially the Castle; we marched within sight of the Sea a great part of this day, and could see our Ships sail all along towards *Drogheda*, which certainly must needs be a great Mortification to the *Irish*: upon the Road as we marched there was a Soldier hanged for deserting, and a Boy for being a Spy and a Murderer; the story of this Boy is very remarkable, which was thus, About three Weeks before we took the Field, one of my Lord *Drogheda*'s Servants was gathering Wood-forrel nigh his Quarters at *Tandragee*, this Boy comes to him, and tells him, if he'll go along, he would take him to a place hard by, where he might get several good Herbs; he follows the Boy, and is taken by five or six *Irish* Men that were Armed, they take him to a little House and bind him, but after some good words unto his Hands, but withal kept him a Prisoner, designing to carry him to *Dundalk* next Day; he endeavours in the night to make his escape, and did it, though they pursued him and wounded him in several places, the Boy himself

A remarkable Story.

June.

self being one of the forwardest. Next week the same Boy was at *Legacory*, where he was telling some Dragoons, that if they would go along with him, he would take them to a place where they might get several Horses and a good prey of Cattle; they were very ready to hearken to him, when at the same time one of my Lord *Drogheda*'s Souldiers going that way by chance, knew the Boy, (for he had been often in their Quarters) and having heard the Story of the Sergeant, told it the Dragoons; upon which the Boy was seized, and after sometime confessed, that all the last *Dundalk*-Camp he had gone frequently between the two Armies, that he had trapan'd several, and had half a Crown Bras's money for every one that he could bring in; that he could observe as he went amongst our Regiments how they lay, and what Condition they were in, both as to Health and other matters; that he had lately stab'd a Dragoon in at the Back, as his Father held him in talk, and that his Father would give him nothing but the Dragoons Hat and Waste-coat, which he had then on: all this I have heard the Boy say, and much more to the same purpose; he spoke *English* and *Irish* both very well; he was brought Prisoner to this place; and upon the March; after he had received Sentence of Death, he profer'd for a Bras's Six-pence to hang a Countrey Man that was a Prisoner for buying the Souldiers Shooes; and when he came to be Hang'd himself, he was very little concern'd at it.

The King was always upon Action; he observed the Countrey as he rid along, and said it was worth Fighting for; and ordered the manner of Encamping that day himself: After that, with a small Party, his Majesty before He eat or drank rid about four Miles further towards the Enemy. As the Army was Marching through *Ardee*, a *French* Souldier hap'ned to be very Sick with drinking Water, and despairing to live, pluck'd out his Beads and fell to his Prayers; which one of the *Danes* seeing, shot the *French* Man dead, and took away his Musquet, without any further Ceremony. There were none of the *Irish* to be seen, but a few poor starved Creatures who had scraped up some of the Husks of Oats nigh a Mill, to eat instead of better Food. It's a wonder to see how some of those Creatures live; I my self have seen them scratching like Hens amongst the Cindars for Vichtuals; which put me in mind of a Story that I have

have read in the Annals of *Ireland*, where it is said, that in the Year 1317, the *Ulster* Irish roved up and down the Kingdom in a Body, whilst the Scots Army was down towards *Limerick*, and those People were so Hunger-starved at last, that in Church-yards they took the Bodies out of their Graves, and in their Skulls boild the Flesh and fed thereupon, and Women did Eat their own Children for Hunger, so that of ten thousand, there remained at last only three hundred: the reason of this Plague the Superstition of those Times attributed to their eating of Flesh in Lent, for which this Curse came upon them.

By this time his Majesty understood that all the Irish Army *The Irish Army* was marched over the *Boyne*, the Night before, except flying parties, so that on *Monday* Morning, the last of *June*, very early, our whole Army began to move in three Lines towards the *Boyn*, which was but eight short Miles off. The Enemy being near, our advance Guards of Horse, commanded by Sir *John Lanier*, made their Approaches very regularly, and by that time they had got *beyond the Boyne.* within two Miles of *Drogheda*, his Majesty was in the Front of them: Some of our Dragoons went into an old House, where they found about 200 Scythes stretch'd out upon Beams, which the *Irish*, either had forgot, or had no time to carry over, they brought one of them to the King, who smiled, and said it was a desperate Weapon.

A little Way further there was an Hill, to the East of the Enemies Camp, and North from the Town; upon this his Majesty *His Majesty views their Army.* went, from whence he could see the Town, and all the Enemies Camp which lay to the West of the Town, all along the River side in two Lines, here his Majesty had a great deal of discourse with the Prince, Duke *Schonberg*, Duke of *Ormond*, Count *Solmes*, Major General *Scravemore*, my Lord *Sidney*, and other great Officers, who were all curious in making their Observations upon the Enemy. Major General *Scravemore* called them *une petet Arme* (for we could not reckon above five or six and forty Regiments that lay Encamped:) His Majesty answered, that they might have a great many Men in Town, that there was also an Hill to the South-west, beyond which they might have Men Encamped, and that possibly they did not shew all their Numbers; however He said he was resolv'd to see very soon what they were. Such a great Prince knowing, that to be Warm in undertaking a great Design, and cool in justifying it, when it comes

ture. to a push, is seldom attended with Success or Reputation, his Majesty therefore went boldly on, and obtain'd both.

By this time our Horse were advancing a pace, and the Enemy we could discern were all in a hurry, to get up their Horses, which were many of them at Grafts, and to set all things in order; his Majesty sent out several parties of Horse, some towards the Town of *Drogheda*, and some towards the pass at *Old Bridge*, and then rid softly along Westward, viewing the Enemies Camp as he passed, he made a little stop towards some old Houses, and every one commended mightily the order of our Horse marching in. Here it was that the Enemy fired their first Guns, from a Battery of six Cannons, that they had a good way below, but they did no hurt; two of our Troopers, went to the very Ford, and took away an Horse, as also a Barrel of Ale that the *Irish* had been taking over.

At Old Bridg.

His Majesty rid on to the pass at *Old Bridge*, and stood upon the side of the Bank within Musquet shot of the Ford, there to make his Observations on the Enemies Camp and Posture, there stood a small party of the Enemies Horse in a little Island within the River, and on the other Bank there were several Hedges, and little *Irish* Houses almost Close to the River; there was one House likewise of Stone, that had a Court, and some little Works about it, this the *Irish* had filled with Souldiers, and all the Hedges, and little Houses we saw, were lined and filled with Musqueteers, there were also several Breast-works cast up to the Right, just at the Ford. However, this was the place thro' which his Majesty resolved to force his Way, and therefore he and his great Officers spent some time in contriving the Methods of passing, and the Places where to plant our Batteries. After some time, his Majesty rid about 200 Yards further up the River, nigh the West of all the Enemies Camp, and whilst his Army was marching in, he alighted, and sate him down upon a rising Ground, where he refreshed himself: whilst his Majesty sate there, we observed five Gentlemen of the *Irish* Army, ride softly along the other side, and make their Remarks upon our Men as they marched in, those I heard afterwards, were the Duke of *Berwick*, my Lord *Tyrconnel*, *Sarcefield*, *Parker*, and some say *Lauzun*. Captain *Pownel* of Colonel *Levisons* Regiment was sent with a party of Horse and Dragoons towards the Bridg of *Slane*, and whilst his Majesty sate

sate on the Grass (being about an Hour) there came some of the *Irish* with long Guns, and shot at our Dragoons, who went down to the River to Drink, and some of ours went down to return the Favour; than a party of about forty Horse, advanced very slowly, and stood upon a plowed Field over against us, for near half an Hour, and so retired to their Camp; this small party, (as I have heard from their own Officers since) brought two Field-pieces amongst them, dropping them by an Hedg on the plow'd Land, undiscover'd; they did not offer to fire them, till his Majesty was mounted, and then he and the rest riding softly the same Way back, their Gunner fires a Piece, which kill'd us two Horses and a Man about 100 Yards above where the King was, but immediately comes a second, which had almost been a fatal one, for it Graized upon the Bank of the River, and in the rising slanted upon the King's right Shoulder, took out a piece of his Coat, and tore the Skin and Flesh, and afterward broke the head of a Gentleman's Pistol.

Mr. *Coningsby* (now one of the Lords Justices of *Ireland*) seeing his *The King wounded.* Majesty struck, rid up and put his Handkerchief upon the place, his Majesty took little notice of it, but rid on for about forty Yards further, where there was an high Bank on either side, but it being open below, we returned the very same way again, the Enemies Cannon firing upon us all the while, they did some dammage amongst our Horse that were drawing up just before them, killing two of the Guards, and about nine of *Col. Cays* Horses with three Troopers, and also some few more out of *Col. Bryerley's*, and other Regiments, which made the King give orders for his Horse to draw a little backwards, to have the Advantage of a rising Ground between them and the Cannon.

When the Enemy saw their great Shot disturbed us, they set up a most prodigious Shout all over the Camp, as if our whole Army had been undone, and several Squadrons of their Horse drew down upon a plain towards the River, but in such a Place as they knew it was impossible for us to come at them, the River being very deep, and a Bank of nigh ten Yards high on our side. I have often observed the *Irish* very fond of Shouting and Hallowing before an Engagement, and there is a Tradition amongst them, that whosoever does not Shout and Huzzah as the rest do in Battel, he's suddenly caught up from the Ground into

into the Air, and so into a certain desart Vale in the County of *Kerry*, where he eateth Gras and lappeth Water, hath some use of Reason, but not of Speech, but shall be caught at length by Hunters and their Hounds, and so brought Home. But this Story is a little too light for so grave an Author as *Cambden*, tho' he only relates it as a foolish Fancy.

The King went to change his Coat, and get his Shoulder dres-
sed, and then rid about to see his Army come in, which were
all this while Marching, and encamping in two Lines. And
here I cannot but take notice of a signal Piece of Providence in
the preservation of the King's Person, for whatever ill Effects it
might have had for the Future, it would have been of fatal conse-
quence to the Army at that time, if he had fallen, since in stead of
our going to them, the *Irish* would have been ready to have come
to us next Morning, and how we would have received them, there's
none can tell. I have met with several that will not believe, that
the King was touched with a Cannon Bullet at all, and if so, that
it was impossible it should not Kill him; but I was present when
the thing hapned, and therefore can affirm the Truth of it.
I have seen a great many odd Accidents in Wounds with Cannon
Bullets, and yet the Parties live, particularly one of my Lord
Drogheda's Men, who had all the Flesh of his right Cheek shot
from the Bone without breaking his Jaw, and he's yet alive
and very well. Tho it seems at the Court of *France*, they could
not believe any such thing, when they made Bone-fires for
King *William*'s death.

Our Guns arrive.

But to go on with the Story, about three Clock the first
of our Field-pieces came up, and we lost no time, but took
two or three of them down towards the River, and planted
them on a Furry-bank over against the Pass, the first Shot (made
by one *Nelson*) we kill'd an Officer, that lay sick in the House
beyond the River, and the second or third, we dismounted one
of those Field-pieces that the *Irish* had been so brisk withal, and
then their Horse that were drawn up towards the River made
what hast they could into the Camp; we continued all that After-
noon pelting at them, and they at us, their Cannon did us little more
harm, but our Gunners planted several Batteries, and threw a
great many small Bombs into their Camp, which obliged them
to remove some of their Tents; one Bullet (as we heard after-
wards) fell very nigh a Crowd of great Officers, that were at
the

the late King's Tent, and kill'd a Horseman that stood Sentinel, they then removed their Counsel to some other Place, and were not admitted to crowd there any more. A French-man of ours, that Afternoon, ran through the River before our faces to the Enemy ; when they saw him coming, a great many of them came down to receive him, and crowding about him to hear News, our Cannon threw a Bullet amongst the very thickest of them, which killed several, and as 'twas said the Fellow himself ; however the rest made what hast they could back again. We had some Deserters also that came from them to us, but I heard of no more that left our Army, except that one Man. There was one Deserter that gave the King an account, that the Enemy were about 25000 Men, and that they had sent away part of their heavy Baggage towards *Dublin*.

About 8 or 9 a Clock at Night, the King called a Council of War, wherein he declared, that he was resolved to pass the *Slane* River the next Day, which Duke *Schonberg* at first opposed, but seeing his Majesty positive in it, he advised to send part of our Army that Night at 12 a Clock, to pass the River at or near *Slane*-bridg, some three Miles above, and so to get between the Enemy and the Pass at *Duleek*, which was about four Miles behind them, but this Advice was not taken. One thing under consideration was, where to get Guides that were trusty and good. Whilst this matter was in question, my Lord *George Hambleton* was by, who immediately brought four or five of his *Inniskilling* Officers that knew the Fords very well, and took upon them to guide the Army next Day ; and here it was concluded how the Army should march, and who should command at the different Posts, which was ordered thus, Lieutenant General *Douglas* was to command the Right Wing of the Foot, and Count *Schonberg* the Horse, who were to march early towards the Bridg of *Slane*, and other Fords above, to flank the Enemy, or get between them and *Duleek* : my Lord *Portland*, and my Lord *Overkirk* had their Posts here as Mareschals de Camp. The Left Wing of our Horse were to pass between the Enemies Camp and *Drogheda*, whilst in the mean time a Body of Foot forced their way at the Pass at *Old Bridg*.

The Enemy held likewise a Council of War, wherein Lieutenant General *Hambleton* advised to send a party of Dragoons to a Ford that was below the Town of *Drogheda* (which we either

June.

knew not of, or else did not regard) and all the rest (being eight Regiments) with their whole left Line towards the Bridge of *Slane*. King *James's* Answer was, that he would send fifty Dragoons up the River, which the other seem'd to be amazed at, the Place to be defended being of such Importance; however they resolved to defend the Passes, and if it were possible to retreat with their Army towards *Dublin*, in order to which they drew off most of their Cannon in the Night.

Orders that
Night.

Towards the Close of the Evening, the Cannons ceased on both sides, and Orders were given out, that every Souldier should be provided with a good stock of Ammunition, and all to be ready at the break of Day, to march at a Minutes warning, with every Man a green Bough or Sprig in his Hat, to distinguish him from the Enemy (who wore pieces of Paper in their Hats.) All the Baggage, with the Souldiers great Coats, were to be left behind with a small Guard in every Regiment to look after them. The Word that Night was *Westminster*, his Majesty was not idle, but about 12 a Clock at Night, rid with Torches quite through his Army: And then,

July.

The Battel at
the Boyne.Our right Wing
draws out.

Tuesday the first of *July*, 1690. The Day was very clear, as if the Sun it self had a Mind to see what would happen. About six a Clock Lieutenant General *Douglas* marched towards the Right with the Foot, and Count *Schonberg* with the Horse, which the Enemy perceiving, drew out their Horse and Foot towards their Left, in order to oppose us: The Right Wing at first were ordered to pass all at *Slane*, but being better inform'd, several Regiments were commanded to pass at other Fords between our Camp and that Place. As some of our Horse marched to the River, there stood a Regiment of the Enemies Dragoons (sent thither over-Night) nigh the Bank on the other side, who fired upon us, and then thought to have retreated to their main Body, but before they could do that, they were flanked in a Lane, and about seventy of them cut off; we met with little more Opposition in passing the River, but marching forwards we found the Enemy drawn up in two Lines: We had then twenty four Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, with six Battalions of Foot: those being too few, Lieutenant General *Douglas* sent for more Foot, and in the mean time we drew up in two Lines also, my Lord *Portland* advising for

for the more Security to mix our Horse and Foot, Squadron with Battalion ; (this is no new way of managing, but was first practised by *Cæsar* at the Battel of *Pharsalia* against *Pompey*, for he there quite altered the manner of embattling amongst the *Romans*, covering one of his Flanks with a small River, and then placing several Battalions of his best Foot amongst his Squadrons in the other, by which he soon routed *Pompey's* Horse, and then falling into the Flanks and Rear of his Enemy, obtained the Victory.) However more Foot coming up, our great Officers altered the first Figure, and drew all the Horse to the Right, by which they outflanked the Enemy considerably. But as our Men were advancing, they met with a great deal of Difficulty in the Ground, for there were large Corn Fields, with great Ditches, and those very hard to be got over, (especially for the Horse, who were obliged to advance in order, when they were in the face of an Enemy) and beyond all those, there was such a Bogg, as few of our Men ever saw before ; the Horse tho' went to the right of it, but the Foot being commanded to march through, found it as great an Hardship as Fighting it self, yet when the Enemy saw our Men take the Bog, instead of charging them in it, they retreated in haste towards *Duleek*, which Count *Schonberg* seeing, fell in amongst their Foot with his Horse, and kill'd a great many.

The King did not know of this Disadvantage of Ground, but computed the time when he thought our right Wing was got well over, and then he ordered his Foot to attack the Pass at *Old Bridge* ; during all which a great part of the Enemies Horse and Foot were still marching towards *Slane*, (where every one expected the main Battel would be) and in their March, our Cannon plaid continually upon them, yet though we kill'd several, it did not disorder their Troops. The Blew Dutch Guards Post being to the Right, they were the first that took the River at *Old Bridge*. The *Irish* had lined the Houses, Breastworks, and Hedges beyond the River, with my Lord *Tyrconnel's* Regiment of Foot-Guards, and some other Companies ; they had posted also seven Regiments of Foot about 150 Yards backwards, who stood drawn up behind some little Hills, to shelter them from our Cannon, which played all this while : besides these, were 2 Troops of Guards, 4 Troops of my Lord *Tyrconnel's*, and 4 Troops of *Parker's* Regiments of Horse, posted in the same manner, (tho' if

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they had posted the *French* here instead of the *Irish*, it would have been more to their Advantage, but the reason of this was, the *Irish Guards* would not lose the Post of Honour.) The *Dutch* beat a March till they got to the Rivers side, and then the Drums ceasing, in they went, some eight or ten abreast, being presently almost up to the middle in the Stream (for they stopp'd the Current by their sudden Motion, and this made it deeper than usual) the Enemy did not fire till our Men were towards the mid' of the River, and then a whole peal of Shot came from the Hedges, Breast-works, Houses, and all about, yet we could not perceive any fall except one, and another stagger'd ; he that was formost was a Lieutenant of Granadeers, who as he got footing on the other side, drew up two Files of Men, then stoop'd, and they fired over him at the next Hedg, which was not fifteen Yards from them ; at which Fire those in the Hedg quitted it, which the rest seeing, all left their Posts, and were followed with a Volley of Shot from our Men that were advancing. The *Irish Foot* run scattering into the next Field, and before the *Dutch* could get well over, and draw up, they were charged

And are charged very bravely by a Squadron of the *Irish Horse*, who came *by a Squadron of* down in a full Carrer, but were quickly beat off again. One Horse. would have thought that Men and Horses had risen out of the Earth, for now there appeared a great many Battalions and Squadrons of the Enemy, all on a suddain, who had stood behind the little Hills. We had two *French* Regiments, and Colonel St. John's, who pass'd the River near the same time the *Dutch* did, but above 100 Yards below ; which Lieutenant-General *Hambleton* perceiving, (who commanded at the Pass) he advanced with a Party of Foot to the very River, and himself with some others went into it, giving Orders at the same time for my Lord *Antrim*'s Regiment, and some more, to go and flank Sir *John Hamner* and Count *Nassaw*'s Regiments, who were pessing about 200 Yards further down ; but neither would his Men stand by him, nor could the other be perswaded to come near *Hamner* : however, as *Hambleton* retreated, a Squadron of their Horse charged our *French* so bravely, that about forty of them broke quite through Monsieur *La Callimot*'s Regiment, and wounded himself mortally : those must go back the same way, or else pass through the Village and so wheel to the Left, to recover their own Men ; they chose the latter but

The Dutch
Guards take the
River.

but were so paid off by some of the *Dutch* and *Inniskilling Foot*, that not above six or eight of them got beyond the Village, most of their Horses stragling up and down the Fields.

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The *Dutch* and the rest of our Foot advanced all this while, and then the *Irish Foot* quitted a second Hedg that they were persuaded to rally to: another Body of Horse came down upon the *Dutch*, who neglected the Hedges, and met them in the open Field, but keeping so close that it was impossible to break them; but as the *Irish* came on, the *Dutch* began to fire by Platoons, and both flanked and fronted the Horse, by which they killed a great many (though not without some loss to themselves) before this Party drew off: By this time some of the *French* and *Inniskilliners* were got into the Field, from whence the Enemy disturb'd us with their Cannon the Day before; and then a fresh Squadron of Horse coming down upon the *Dutch*, those two Regiments stopp'd them, and obliged them to retreat with considerable Loss. Much about this time there was nothing to be seen but Smoak and Dust, nor any thing to be heard but one continued Fire for nigh half an Hour: And whilst this Action lasted, another Party of the *Irish Horse* charged Sir *John Hanmer* as he passed the River, (nigh a Place where the Enemy the Day before had a Battery of six Guns, but now they were gone, as was most of their Artillery:) It was the Duke of *Berwick's* Troop of Guards; and as they advanced, one that had been formerly in Sir *John Hanmer's* Regiment, came out singly and called one of the Captains by his Name; who stepping towards him, the other fired both his Pistols at him, but was taken Prisoner: this Troop was beat off again with the Loss of only three of Sir *John Hanmer's* Men.

Our Foot advance beyond the River.

All our Horse went over to the Right and Left, except one Squadron of *Danes*, who passed the River whilst our Foot were engaged, and advancing to the Front, *Hambleton* sent out sixty Horse, who charged the *Danes* so home that they came faster back again than they went, some of them never looking behind them till they had crossed the River again. The want of Horse was so apparent at this Place, that the very Country People cry'd out Horse, Horse; which Word going towards the Right, and they mistaking it for *Halt*, stopp'd the Right Wing nigh half an Hour; which time, well spent, might

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The General
killed.

might have done Service. This and the *Irish* breaking through the *French* Regiment hap'ned much about a Time ; which, I am apt to believe, was the occasion of Duke *Schonberg*'s going over so unseasonably, for in this hurry he was killed near the little Village beyond the River : the *Irish* Troopers as they rid by, struck at him with their Swords ; and some say that our own Men firing too hastily, when the Duke was before them, shot him themselves ; however it was, his mortal Wound was through his Neck, and he had one or two Cuts in the Head besides, he fell down and did not speak one Word ; and Captain *Foubert* was shot in the Arm as he was getting him off ; Doctor *Walker* going, as some say, to look after the Duke, was shot a little beyond the River, and stripp'd immediately ; for the *Scots-Irish* that followed our Camp were got through already, and took off most of the Plunder.

This Action begun at a quarter past ten, and was so hot till past eleven, that a great many old Souldiers said, they never saw brisker Work : but then the *Irish* retreated to a rising Ground, and there drew up again in order, both Horse and Foot, designing to charge our Party again that had pass'd the River. Whilst this Action at the Pass lasted, the Left Wing of our Horse (consisting of *Danes* and *Dutch*, with Collonel *Woolsey*'s Horse and some Dragoons) pass'd the River at a very difficult and unusual Place : And the *Danish* Foot, with Collonel *Cutt*'s and some others, went over a little above them. My Lord *Sydney* and Major-General *Kirk* went from one Place to another, as the Posture of Affairs required their Presence. His Majesty, during those Transactions, was almost every where ; before the Action begun, He rid between our Army and theirs with only one Dragoon, and had ordered every thing in other Places as well as possible ; He passes the River with the Left Wing of His Horse, and that with as much Difficulty as any body, for His Horse was bogg'd on the other side, and He was forced to alight till a Gentleman help'd him to get His Horse out. As soon as the Men were got upon the other Bank, and put in order, His Majesty drew His Sword (which yet was troublesome to Him, His Arm being stiff with the Wound He received the Day before) and marched at the Head of them towards the Enemy, who were coming on again in good order upon our Foot that

His Majesty
passes the River
with the Left
Wing.

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that had got over the Pass, and were advancing towards them, though they were double our Number; but when these two Bodies were almost within Musquet-shot of one another, the Enemy espied the Left Wing of our Horse marching towards them, at which they made a sudden Halt, faced about, and so retreated up the Hill to a little Church and a Village called *Dunore*, about half a Mile from the Pass. Our Men marched in order after them; and at this Village the Enemy faced about and charged; our Horse were forced to give Ground, though the King was with them: His Majesty then went to the *Inniskillers*, and ask'd what they would do for Him? and advanced before them: their Officer told his Men who it was, and what Honour was done them: At the Head of those Men the King received the Enemies Fire, and then wheeling to the Left, that His own Men might have liberty to advance and fire, they all wheeled after Him, and retreated above a hundred Yards. The King then went to the Left, to put Himself at the Head of some *Dutch* that were advancing: and the *Inniskillers* being sensible of their Mistake, came up again; doing good Service: Some of Duke *Schonberg*'s *French* Horse were here also, who behaved themselves well, and took one or two of King *James*'s Standards. Another Party, commanded by Lieutenant General *Ginkle*, charged in a Lane to the Left, but the *Irish* being too many for them, they retreated; which a party of Sir *Albert Cunningham*'s Dragoons, commanded by his Lieutenant-Collonel, and another of Collonel *Levison*'s, commanded by Captain *Brewerton*, perceiving, the Officers ordered their Men to alight and line an Hedg as also an old House that flank'd the Lane, from whence they poured in their Shot upon the Enemy. Lieutenant-General *Ginkle* staid in the Rear of his Men, (being much vex'd at their retreating) and was in some Danger by our own Dragoons; for the Enemy being close upon him, they could not well distinguish; however the Dragoons did here a piece of good Service in stopping the Enemy, (who came up very boldly) and our Horse rallying both here and to the Right, after near half an Hours Dispute the Enemy were again beat, from this Place, and a great many of them killed. Lieutenant-General *Hambleton* finding his Foot not to answer his Expectation, he put himself at the Head of the Horse, and when

And charges several times at the Head of his Men.

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Lieutenant General Hamberton taken Prisoner.

when they were defeated he was here taken Prisoner, having received a Wound on the Head. When he was brought to the King, His Majesty asked him, Whether the Irish would fight any more? Yes, (said he) an't please Your Majesty, upon my Honour I believe they will, for they have a good Body of Horse still. The King look'd a little aside at him when he named his Honour, and repeated it once or twice, *Your Honour*: Intimating (as He always says a great deal in few Words) that what the other affirmed upon his Honour was not to be believed, since he had forfeited that before in his siding with my Lord Tyrconnel; and this was all the Rebuke the King gave him for his Breach of Trust. There were several other Prisoners taken here also, but not many of Note.

How things went to the Right of our Army. Now, you must know, that whilst all this hap'ned here, our Men on the Right were making their way as well as they could over Hedges and Bogs towards Duleek, and as they advanced, the Enemy drew off, till they heard what had hap'ned at the Pass, and then they made greater haste, yet they could not retreat so fast but several of them were killed, especially of their Foot, amongst whom a Party of our Horse fell in; but they presently scatter'd amongst the Corn and Hedges till they got beyond a great Ditch, where our Horse could not follow. Collonel Levison, with a party of his Dragoons, got between some of the Enemies Horse and Duleek, and killed several, yet if they had not minded retreating more than fighting, he might have come off a Loser. When most of them were over the Pass, they drew up and fired their great Guns upon us; and we ours upon them, though we could not easily come at them with our small Shot, (for there are several boggy Fields with Ditches at Duleek, and in the midst of these a deep strait Rivulet, very soft in the bottom, and high Banks on each side; there is only one Place to get over, and there not above six can go abreast.)

Their Confusion, however, was so great, that they left a great many Arms, and a considerable Quantity of Ammunition in that Village of Duleek, and indeed all the Country over; but our Men were so foolish as to blow up the Powder where-ever they met with it, and few or none of the Men escaped that came in their Hands, for they shot them like Hares

Hares amongst the Corn, and in the Hedges as they found them in their March.

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By that time therefore a Body of our Horse was got over the Pass that was sufficient to attack the Enemy, they were gone at least a Mile before, their Horse and Artillery in the Rear, and their Foot marching in great Haste and Confusion; we went after them for at least three Miles, but did not offer to attack them any more, because of the Ground. Then Night coming on, the King, with some of the Horse, return'd to the Foot that were encamping at *Duleek*; but the greatest part of them remained at their Arms all Night, where they left off the Pursuit.

Reasons why so few killed.

On the *Irish* side were killed my Lord *Dungan*, my Lord *Carlingford*, Sir *Neal O Neal*, with a great many more Officers; they lost at the Pass, at *Dunore*, *Duleek*, and all the Fields adjoining, between 1000 and 1500 Men; one thing was observable, that most of their Horse-men that charged so desperately were drunk with Brandy, each Man that Morning having received half a Pint to his share; but it seems the Foot had not so large a Proportion, or at least they did not deserve it so well.

The Number of the dead.

On our side were killed nigh four hundred. The Dutch Granadeers told me, before we got to the Church at *Dunore*, that they had lost seventeen, and the rest proportionably; the *French* also lost several, but all this was nothing in respect of Duke *Schonberg*, who was more considerable than all that were lost on both sides; whom his very Enemies always called a Brave Man, and a Great General. I have heard several Reasons given for the Duke's passing the River at that Juncture: but, doubtless, his chief Design was to encourage the *French*, whom he had always loved, and to rectify some Mistakes that he might see at a distance: However 'twas, this I'm certain of, that we never knew the Value of him till we really lost him, which often falls out in such cases; and since it was in our Quarrel that he lost his Life, we cannot too much honour his Memory, which will make a considerable Figure in History whilst the World lasts. He was certaiuly a Man of the best Education in the World, and knew Men and Things beyond most of his time, being Courteous and Civil to every Body, and yet had something always that look'd so Great in him, that he commanded Respect from Men of all Qualities and Stations. Nor did we

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know any Fault that he had, except we might be jealous he sometimes was too obliging to the *French*: As to his Person, he was of a middle Stature, well proportion'd, fair complecti-on'd, a very sound hardy Man of his Age, and sate an Horse the best of any Man; he loved constantly to be neat in his Clothes, and in his Conversation he was always pleasant: he was fourscore and two when he died, and yet when he came to be unbowelled, his Heart, Intrails and Brains, were as fresh and as sound as if he had been but twenty; so that it's probable he might have lived several Years, if Providence had not ordered it otherways. Monsieur *Callimot*, an honest worthy Gentleman, died soon after him of his Wounds, having follow'd that great Man in all his Fortunes.

Some who pretend to more Skill than possibly they are really Masters of, will needs affirm, that there were two Oversight committed at this time; one in not pursuing the Enemy closer after they were once broke, which had been less hazardous, considering all things, than what followed afterwards; my Lord of *Oxford*, and my Lord *Portland*, were for sending three thousand Horse, with each a Musqueteer behind him, to fall upon them in the Rear as they retreated, which might have done great Matters; for the Enemy were in such a Consternation that they marched all that Night in great Fear and Confusion, expecting us at their Heels every Minute. But those that have seen the Ground at *Duleek*, and thereabouts, will say that it's scarce possible to make an orderly Pursuit at such a Place; for whilst an Enemy continues in a Body, there's no going after them as if Men were a Fox-hunting, since nothing encourages, even a flying Enemy more to rally and fight again, than to see a disorderly Pursuit of them: The Passes therefore were so narrow and troublesome, that before we could get over a Body of Men, sufficient to attack the Enemy, they were got a Mile or two before us, and new Difficulties between us and them: nor was the Case the same with them, for they got over any where as well as they could, except the Rear, who kept their Order as far as we could see them. As for his Majesty himself, he chose the Field, drew up his Army, gave his General Orders to his Officers, and the best Orders where-ever he was in Person; but the greatest Captain that ever was, or will be, is not, nor can be, of himself sufficient

ent to redress all Disorders, or lay hold on all Advantages in an Instant, when Armies are once ingaged. And further, his Majesty having committed a considerable part of his Orders to the Care of his General, the Death of him must needs be a Disadvantage to the whole Army.

Another thing they pretend to find fault with, was, in not sending ten thousand Men immediately from the *Boyn* towards *Athlone* and *Limerick*, since we were as nigh those Places here as at *Dublin*; and if we had gone behind them, *Limerick* and *Galloway* would certainly have yeilded, for it was at least a Fortnight before any number of their Army got thither, and then (they say) the *Irish* Army must either have fought again in the Field, or else submitted, since *Dublin* is not to be kept by those that are not Masters of the Field. But there are very good Reasons why this was not done: for his Majesty knew at this time that the *French* Fleet was hovering nigh the *English* Coast, and therefore would not divide his Army, nor draw them from the Sea; nor did his Majesty know as yet whether the *Irish* would not stay for him between that and *Dublin*, and so fight again. And before he was assur'd of it, the News of the *French* Fleets Success at Sea, altered both his and the *Irish* Peoples measures; for this put them into Heart again, especially when it came with a Report (spread abroad, I suppose, on purpose) that King *William* was dead, as well as Duke *Schonberg*, and that the Dauphin of *France* was landed with an Army in *England*. But though there was little of Truth in these Reports, yet they animated the *Irish*, (who of all Men living are the soonest disengaged, but up again with the least Hopes) and to work they went in making Provisions to defend their Towns, especially beyond the *Shannon*: but this I'm afraid will be thought impertinent, at least it's out of order; and therefore to return.

King *James*, during part of the Action at the *Boyn*, stood at the little old Church upon the Hill called *Dunore*, but when he saw how things were like to go, he marched off to *Duleck*, and from thence towards *Dublin*: The first News that went to that Place, was, That K. *James* had got the day, our General killed, and the Prince of *Orange* (as they call'd him) taken Prisoner; this was very afflicting to the poor Protestants who were

King *James's*
Carriage at the
Battel, and after.

July. shut up in Prisons all over the Town: but towards Night they observed several Officers come to Town in great Confusion, some wounded, and others looking very dull upon the Matter, which they thought were no Signs of Victory, and then begun to hope better things. About nine a Clock King James came to *Dublin*, with about two hundred Horse with him, all in Disorder. My Lady *Tyrconnel* met him at the Castle-gate, and after he was up Stairs, her Ladiship ask'd him what he would have for Supper? who then gave her an Account of what a Breakfast he had got, which made him have but little Stomach to his Supper: He staid all Night in the Castle, and next Morning fending for the Lord Mayor and some others, he told them, 'That in *England* he had an Army which durst have fought, but they proved false and deserted him; and that here he had an Army which was Loyal enough, but would not stand by him; he was now necessitated to provide for his Safety, and that they should make the best Terms for themselves that they could, and not to burn or injure the Town; and immediately after took Horse, and with about twelve in Company went towards *Bray*, and so to *Waterford*, where he took Shipping for *France*. The Irish Horse came most of them into *Dublin* that Night, and most of the Foot next Morning. And before Night on *Wednesday* they were all gone, taking the City Militia along, who were all Papists; but they released all the Prisoners, not out of love to them, but for fear lest we had been at their Heels.

Some say that King James sent Sir *Patrick Trant*, and another Gentleman towards *Waterford*, to provide Shipping for him before-hand, for fear of the worst, but I have not heard the Certainty of it: However this was not the way that Heroes used formerly to take in *England*; for the *Romans* burnt their Ships when they landed there, that their Men might have no Hopes of a Retreat, but to conquer or die: And so did the Duke of *Normandy*, who soon after got the Name of Conquerour. But King *William* gave his Army better Proofs of his Courage and Conduct; nor can I pretend to be able to give his Majesty the just Commendation his Merit forces from his very Enemies, only this I am sure of, that he dare do any thing, and has not a Soul subject to fear, or any thing that's below a Prince, never

never had an Army a better Opinion of a King, than ours of him, their only fear was that he woud expose himself too far; and whatever Difference happens between him and them, can be only this, that they desire to stand between his Majesty and all Danger; but he always has a mind to put himself between them and it; may we long therefore have such a General in a King, and he not only Souldiers, but Subjects of all Professions, that love him as well. Prince *George* accompanied his Majesty in most of his Dangers; and in the greatest of them, was always near him, and nothing but the Bravery of such a King could hinder him of the greatest Character in this Account. As to our *English* Forces, there were few of them that had an Opportunity at this Place to shew themselves, but those that had, acquitted themselves very well; the *French* and *Janiskilliners* did good Service; and to give the *Dutch* Guards their due, they deserve immortal Honour for what they did that Day. I enquired at several, who they were that managed the Retreat the *Irish* made that Day so much to their Advantage, for (not to say worse of them than they deserve) it was in good Order so far as we could see them, (I mean with the Horse, and *French* Foot) whatsoever they did afterwards; but I could hear of none in particular, only Lieutenant Gen. *Hambleton* says, it was my Lord *Gilmoy*, who is not thought an extraordinary Souldier; but this is certain, that the *French* were towards the left of their Army that Day, and so did little or no Service, except it was in the Retreat; whereas if they had posted them, instead of the *Irish* Foot, at the Pafs, we had found warmer Work of it: But Providence orders all things, and amongst those the Counsels of the Greatest.

The Night after the Battel we lay upon our Arms at *Duleek*, and next Morning were sent a Party back out of every Regiment, to fetch up our Tents and Baggage from beyond the *Boyn*: As likewise Brigadeer *La Millinier* was sent with a Party of a thousand Horse and Dragoons, about three hundred Foot, and eight Pieces of Cannon to summon *Drogheda*.

The Governoour received the first Summons very indifferently; but then he had word sent, that if he forced the Cannon to be fired on them, they should have no Quarter: The Governoour at length considered better of it, and believing the *Irish* Army to be totally routed, he surrendered upon Condition to be

be conducted to the next Garrison, which was *Athlone*. And the next Day about 1300 of them marched out without their Arms, having a Convoy according to Agreement. Colonel *Cufts*'s Men took Possession of the Place, where they found good store of Wine and other things that were considerable, and took great Care to preserve the Town from any Violence of the Souldiers. This Town is one of the best in *Ireland*, unto which King *Edward* the Second, for *Theobald Verdens* sake, granted License for a Market and Fair, and succeeding Kings confirmed many and great Privileges to it ; amongst others that of a Mint. *Cromwel* at his first landing in *Ireland* took it by Storm, and put above 2000 Men to the Sword in it. The River *Boyn* runs through the Town, which takes its Name from swift running, for *Boyn*, both in *Irish* and *British*, signifies Swift, as the Learned say : It's a great and rapid River, and whatever it has been formerly, it will be famous in succeeding Ages for this Action. I have shewn the Spot of Ground to some, who design to erect a Pillar where the King escaped so narrowly, to perpetuate so memorable an Action. Near the Ground, where we encamp'd, stands *Mellifont Abby*, founded in the Year 1168, by *Donald King of Uriel*, and is much praised by *St. Bernard* : it was given afterwards by *Queen Elizabeth* to *Sir Edward More of Kent*, for his good Service in the Wars both at home and abroad, and is now the Seat of the *Earl of Drogheda*.

But this I'm afraid will be thought a little out of my present rode ; and therefore *Wednesday*, the 2d of *July*, we marched not above a Mile, to convenient Ground, and there pitched our Tents : I remember we had a kind of Alarm that Afternoon, and some say it was five. Troops of Horse, and three Regiments of Foot, that came from *Munster* to joyn King *James*'s Army, who appeared in the Flank of us ; but sending two Spies to discover who we were, they were taken and hanged, though the Party marched off untouched. Monsieur *Cambon* had almost set his own and my Lord *Drogheda*'s Regiment by the Ears, by ordering a Detachment of his Men to take away by force the Gras from the Rear of the other Regiment : The Matter came so high, that both Parties were charging their Peeces ; but my Lord *Drogheda* ordered his Men to their Tents, and Lieut. Gen. *Douglas* ordered Monsieur *Cambon* to desist from his Pretensions : this might have been of dangerous Consequence, and yet my Lord

Lord was so kind to Monsieur *Cambon*, as not to acquaint the King with it.

On *Thursday* the 3d of *July*, his Majesty marched forwards with his Army to a Place called *Bally Brigham*, and there encamped; on his March he had an Account by one Mr. *Sanders*, (whom the Bishop of *Meath*, Dr. *King*, Captain *Fitz Gerald*, and other Protestants, that had taken upon them the Protection of the City, had sent for that purpose) that the *Irish* had left *Dublin*: towards which the Duke of *Ormond* marched with 1000 Horse, and found Captain *Farlow* Governour, who two Days before had been a Prisoner. The *Dutch* Guards were sent also, who took Possession of the Castle, as the Duke of *Ormond* did of the Out-Guards of the Town with his Horse: Next Day we lay encamped, and above 300 Citizens came out from *Dublin*, to wait upon the King, and to welcome our Army; and abundance of People flocked from all Places to see our Camp. The Country all hereabouts, is most of it inhabited with old *English*, and is called *Fingal*, that is a Nation of Foreigners. Its scarce worth the relating what is writ in the *Irish* Annals of a Country-man nigh this Place, that in the Year 1341, found a pair of Gloves, in drawing on of which, he barked like a Dog; and from that present, the Elder in that Country barked like big Dogs, and the young ones like Whelps; and this continued with some for eighteen Days, with others a Month, and with some for two Years, and entred also into several other Places; and they tell you likewise of the Men in the County of *Tipperary*'s being turn'd into Wolves at a certain time of the Year: but these are Trifles, for they are commonly Dogs or Wolves in their Nature, but no otherways.

Saturday the 5th of *July*, we marched to *Finglass*, two Miles Encamps as wide of Dublin *Finglass*; his Majesty did not go to the City, but staid in the Field with his Army; yet next Day being *Sunday*, he went to St. *Patrick*'s Church, and returned on Horseback to the Camp to Dinner. This City of *Dublin* is by much the largest and best in all *Ireland*, and inferior to none in A Description of *England*, except *London*; most of the Houses and Streets are *Dublin*, very regular and modern, and the People as fashionable as any where. It's called by *Ptolomy*, *Eblana*; the *Irish* call it *Bala Cleigh*, that is, the Town upon *Hurdles*, because they say it.

King William
marches towards
Dublin.

July.

it was built upon a fenny, boggy Place, but whatever it has been, the Ground about it is now very sound, and the Air wholesome; it was much afflicted in the *Danish Wars*, and afterwards came under Subjection of *Edgar King of England*; then the *Norwegians* possessed themselves of it; and we read that *Harold of Norway*, after he had subdued the greatest part of *Ireland*, built *Develin*. And hither King *Henry II.* after he had gain'd a great Interest in this Kingdom, sent over a Colony of *Bristow Men*, who were the first *English* Inhabitants of this City. In the Year 1220, was the Castle of *Dublin* built, by *Henry Londres*, Arch-bishop of that See. And in the Reign of King *Edward II.* *Alexander de Bicknor*, Arch-bishop of *Dublin*, began to encourage the Profession of Learning, having obtained from Pope *John XXII.* the Privilege of an University to the College of *Dublin*, which he built in the Place, where of old stood the Monastery of *All-hallows*, the first Master hereof was Friar *William Hardite*. In times of War and Tumult it was defaced, but rebuilt in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, and endowed with several Privileges, being ever since a Nursery of Protestants, till they were turn'd out by King *James's* Souldiers, and it made a Guard-House, but now at King *William's* coming, restored to the Protestants with their other Possessions.

Monday the 6th. Several Parties of Horse were sent up and down the Country; and next Day the Bishop of *Meath*, the Bishop of *Limerick*, and all, or most of the Clergy, then in or near the City of *Dublin*, waited upon the King: the Bishop of *Meath* made a Speech, telling his Majesty, ' That they came not to beg his Protection, for he had given sufficient Demonstrations of his Affection towards them, by venturing his Royal Person for their Deliverance, but they came to congratulate his Arrival, to pray for the Continuance of his good Success, and to give his Majesty all the Assurance possible of their Loyalty and Obedience, intreating his Majesty not to think worse of them for staying in *Ireland*, and submitting to a Power that it was impossible for them to resist, since they had been as serviceable to the Churches Interest, and his Majesty's, by staying, as they could have been otherwise; with a great deal more to that purpose. The King made Answer, That as he had by the blessing of God succeeded so far, he doubted not, but by God's Assistance,

The Bishops and
Clergy address
the King.

stance, to free them absolutely, and that in a small time, from Popish Tyranny, which was his design in coming. Then the Bishop of Limerick desired his Majesty to give them leave to appoint a day of publick Thanksgiving, and to compose a Form of Prayer upon that Occasion, to which his Majesty assented.

The Irish went away in such haste, that they left 16000 *l.* Money left in the Treasury. Brass money in the Treasury, and a great quantity of French pieces called *Sous*es. I enquired of some People concern'd in the Treasury in King James's time, and they told me, that there had not been much above 110000 *l.* Brass money Coyned during all the time it passed.

On Tuesday, July the 7th. the King sent out his Declaration, to the Irish, assuring all under such a Quality of his protection, and because the not observing of it has since done a great deal of prejudice, not only to his Majesties affairs, but also to all sorts of People belonging to that Country, it will not be improper here to insert it.

The Declaration of William and Mary, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c.

To all Our People of Our Kingdom of Ireland
whom it may concern.

William, R.

AS it hath pleased Almighty God to bless Our Arms in this K. William's Kingdom with a late Victory over Our Enemies at the Boyne, and with the Possession of Our Capital City of Dublin, and with a general dispersion of all that did oppose us; We are now in so happy a prospect of our Affairs, and of extinguishing the Rebellion of this Kingdom, that We hold it reasonable to think of Mercy, and to have Compassion upon those whom we judge to have been seduced: Wherefore We do hereby declare We shall take into Our Royal Protection, all poor Labourers, Common Soldiers, Country Farmers, Plowmen, and Cottiers whatsoever: As also all Citizens, Trades-men, Towns-men, and Artificers, who either remain'd at home, or having fled from their dwellings, shall by the first of August next repair to their usual places of abode, surrendering up what Arms they have to such Justices of the Peace as are or shall be appointed by Us, not only to receive the same, but also to Register the Appearance of such

July.

of the said Persons as shall come and submit to Our Authority. For Our Royal Intention is, and We do hereby declare, That We will not only pardon all those seduced people as to their Lives and Liberties, who shall come in by the time aforesaid, for all violences they have committed by the command of their Leaders during the time of the War: But We do also promise to secure them in their Goods, their Stocks of Cattle, and all their Chattels personal whatsoever, willing and requiring them to come in, and where they were Tenants, there to preserve the Harvest of Grafs and Corn, for the supply of the Winter. But forasmuch as many of them have a Legal Right to the Tenancy of several Lands, some holden from Protestants, and some held from Popish Proprietors, who have been concern'd in the Rebellion against Us. Our Will and Pleasure is, that all those who held from Our good Protestant Subjects, do pay their Rents to their respective Landlords: and that the Tenants of all those who have been concern'd in the Rebellion against Us, do keep their Rents in their bands, until they have notice from the Commissioners of Our Revenue, unto whom they are to account for the same. And as We do hereby strictly forbid all Violence, Rapine and Molestation, to any who shall thus come in and remain Obedient to Us: We do hereby Charge and Require, that they be not disquieted in any sort, without Our particular Command. For the desperate Leaders of this Rebellion, who have violated those Laws, by which this Kingdom is united and inseparably annexed to the Imperial Crown of England; who have called in the French, who have Authorized all Violences, and depredations against the Protestants, and who rejected the Gracious Pardon, We offered them in Our Proclamation of the 22 of February, 1688. As We are now by Gods great favour in a Condition to make them sensible of their Errours, So are We resolved to leave them to the Event of War, unless by Great and Manifest demonstrations, We shall be convinced that they deserve Our Mercy, which We shall never refuse, to those that are truly penitent. Given at Our Royal Camp at Finglass near Dublin, the 7th. of July, 1690. In the Second year of Our Reign.

This Declaration was published in the Camp two days after, and had it been punctually observed according to the intent of it, we had had fewer Enemies at this day by at least 20000: For tho' the King was punctual in his observance of it, some Officers and Soldiers were apt to neglect the King's Honour, and the Honour of our Country and Religion, when it stood in Competition

petition with their own profit and advantage. July the seventh and eighth, the King took a view of his Army by distinct Regiments, and though it often Rain'd very fast, yet his Majesty sat on Horseback in the midst of it, and saw each Regiment march by him, enquiring the Officers names, and what other things concerning them he thought fit: The Commissaries taking an exact List of all the private Men, both Horse and Foot, that appeared in the Ranks: And it was observable, that with Heat, Dust, Marching, and other inconveniences, most people in the Army had got very soe Lips, nor was his Majesty himself exempt from this inconveniency, for he had toil'd and labour'd as much as the best of them.

Because several people may be curious to know what Number of Men we had at the *Boyn*, and also how many the Enemy were, I have here inser'ted the Exact Number of our own Horse and Foot, as it was taken at *Finglass*. And likewise a List of the *Irish Army*, as it was delivered, first to the Duke at *Lisburn*, and afterwards to the King.

An Abstract of the the Private Men of his Majesties Army
which appeared at the Review taken at Finglass the 7th.
and 8th. of July, 1690.

Regiments.	Men.	Regiments.	Men.
<i>English Horse.</i>			
First Troop of Guards	140	Col. Coy	236
Granadeers 47 {		Col. Byerley	244
unmounted 55 {	52	Col. Langston	225
Third Troop	133	Count Schonberg	242
Granadeers 40 {		Duke Schonberg's French	
unmounted 35 {	43		387
Earl of Oxford's	368	unmounted 8 {	395
Sir John Laniers 357 {		Col. Woolsey	423
unmounted 35 {	360	Captain Harbord's Troop	38
Colonel Villers 244 {			
unmounted 15 {	245	<i>Dutch Horse.</i>	
Colonel Russel	242	Troop of Guards	143 {
		unmounted 2 {	145
		O 2	Lord

July.

Regiments.	Men.	Regiments.	Men.
Lord Portland	351	Colonel Beaumont	526
unmounted	65	Brigadeer Stuart	660
Monpovillans	168	Sir John Hanmer	593
unmounted	35	Colonel Brewer	571
Lieut. Gen. Ginkel	148	Colonel Hastings	606
unmounted	45	Earl of Meath	678
Col. Scholks	157	Colonel Fouks	439
unmounted	105	Col. Gustavus Hambleton	560
Van Oyens	161	Sir Henry Bellasis	628
unmounted	35	Lord Lisburn	611
Reideffels	173	Lieutenant Gen. Douglas	648
unmounted	15	Earl of Drogbeda	660
Bancour	176	Colonel Earl	693
unmounted	25	Brigadeer La Millineer	529
Nyenbuys	174	Colonel Cambon	640
unmounted	15	Colonel Callimot	562
<hr/>		Colonel Mitchelburn	664
<i>Danes Horse.</i>		Colonel Tiffin	625
Col. Jewel	264	Colonel St. Johns	589
unmounted	45	Lord George Hambleton	583
Col. Donop	250	Total of English Foot	13335
unmounted	135	<hr/>	
Col. Scheffad	267	Dutch Foot.	
unmounted	145	C. Solms 3 Battal. 1850	1931
Total of Horse	588	2 Compan. of Cadets 81	
<hr/>		Count Nassau's Regiment	652
<i>Dragoons.</i>		Brandenburg	631
Col. Matthews Royal Reg.	406	Colonel Babington	416
Col. Levison	246	Colonel Cutts	543
Col. Gwinns	260	Colonel Grobens	490
Sir Albert Cunningham	337	Total of Dutch Foot	4663
unmounted	215	<hr/>	
Col. Eppingers Dutch	618	Danes Foot.	
unmounted	35	Regiment of Guards	698
Total of Dragoons	1870	Queens Regiment	634
<hr/>		Prince Frederick's	555
<i>English Foot.</i>		Prince Christian's	547
Major General Kirk	666	Prince George's	547
Brigadeer Trelawney	553	Zealand Regiment	527
<hr/>		Juitland	

<i>Fuitland Regiment</i> — — —	554	Colonel <i>Deereing</i> .
<i>Finland Regiment</i> — — —	519	Colonel <i>Herbert</i> .
<i>Total of Danes Foot</i>	4581	Colonel <i>Hambleton</i> .
<i>Dutch Foot</i>	4663	Colonel <i>White</i> .
<i>English Foot</i>	13335	Were all in Garrison and not included.
<i>Foot</i> — — —	22579	
<i>Dragoons</i> — — —	1870	
<i>Horse</i> — — —	5881	
<i>Total of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons</i> — — —	30339	
<i>Reform. Officers of Horse</i>	111	
<i>Reform. Officers of Foot</i>	372	
<i>Total</i>	483	

And note, that neither Officers nor Serjeants are included in the former List, nor yet those that were sick or absent, as several were, but these all marched in the Ranks before the King, so that the compleat number was much greater.

A List of the late King James's Army, taken Apr. 9. 1690.

Regiments of Horse.

<i>Duke of Tyrconnel</i>	9 Troops in a Regiment
<i>Lord Galmoy</i>	53 men in a Troop
<i>Col. Sarsfield</i>	
<i>Col. Sutherland</i>	
<i>Lord Abercorn.</i>	6 Troops in a Regiment
<i>Col. Henry Lutterill</i>	53 men, 53 Men each.
<i>Col. John Parker</i>	
<i>Col. Nicholas Purcel</i>	

Horse Guards.

<i>Lord Dovers Troop</i>	200, each
<i>Troop</i> — — —	Troop.

Troop of Granadeers.

<i>Col. Butler's</i> — — —	60
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Dragoons.

<i>Lord Dungan</i>	8 Troops in a Regiment,
<i>Sir Neal O Neal</i>	
<i>Col. Simon Lutterel</i>	60 men each.

Regiments.

<i>Col. Robert Clifford</i>	Six Troops.
<i>Sir James Cotton</i>	in a Regiment, 60
<i>Col. Tho. Maxwell</i>	Men each.
<i>Lord Clare</i>	

Regiments of Foot.

<i>Royal Regiment</i>	22 Companies, and 90 each.
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Earl of Clancarty.

<i>Col. Henry Fitz James.</i>
<i>Col. John Hambleton.</i>

Earl of Clanrickard.

<i>Earl of Antrim.</i>
<i>Earl of Tyrone.</i>

Lord Gormanstown.

<i>Lord Slane.</i>
<i>Lord Galloway.</i>

Lord Louth.

<i>Lord Duleek.</i>
<i>Lord Killmallock.</i>

July.

Lord Kenmare.
 Sir John Fitz-Gerald.
 Sir Maurice Eustace.
 Col. Nugent.
 Col. Henry Dillon.
 Col. John Grace.
 Col. Edward Butler.
 Col. Thomas Butler.
 Lord Bopni.
 Col. Charles Moor.
 Col. Cormach O Neal.
 Col. Arthur Macknahan.
 Earl of Westmeath.
 Col. Cavenagh.
 Col. Uxbrugh.
 Col. Mac Carty Moore.
 Col. Gordon O Neal.
 Col. John Barret.
 Col. Charles O Bryan.
 Col. O Donavan.
 Col. Nicholas Brown.
 Col. O Gara.
 Sir Michael Creagh.
 Col. Dom. Brown.
 Col. Bagnal.
 Col. Mackellicut.
 Lord Iniskillin.
 Col. Hugh Mac Mahon.
 Col. Walter Bourk.
 Col. Felix O Neal.
 Lord Iveagh.
 Col. O Keyley.

These 44 Regiments were
 13 Companies in each, and 63
 Men in each Company.

Regiments from France.
 The Red Regiment.
 The Blew Regiment.

Two White Regiments, each di-
 vided into several Battalions,
 being in all about 5000 Men.

Regiments that were sent to
 France in Exchange.
 Lord Mountcashel's.
 Col. Richard Butler's.
 Col. Daniel O Bryan's.
 Col. Fielding's.
 Col. Arthur Dillon's.

Regiments that were raised and
 never taken into pay, but dis-
 banded.

Lord Castle Connell.
 Col. Roger O Connor.
 Col. Charles Geogbagan.
 Col. John Brown.
 Col. James Butler.
 Col. Manus O Donnel.
 Col. O Cabon.
 Col. Edward Nugent.
 Col. Charles Kelly.
 Col. Brian Mac Dermot.
 Col. James Talbot.

These last are all meer Irish,
 and consequently good for lit-
 tle, so that no wonder if they
 were broke : But these were
 all the Forces that the late
 King had in Ireland ; and a
 great many were in Garrison
 in Munster and other places :
 but as to their numbers at the
 Boyne, some of their own Of-
 ficers call them five and twen-
 ty, and others seven and twen-
 ty thousand.

About the eighth or ninth of July the King had an Account of the misfortune of the Dutch and English Fleets; and Wednesday the ninth he divided his Army, and went himself with the greatest part of it beyond the Town of Dublin, in order to go Westwards, sending at the same time Lieutenant-General Douglas with three Regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and ten of Foot towards Athlone, which is fifty miles North from Dublin: The Regiments that went upon this Expedition were these; Horse, Langston, Russel, and Woolsey: Dragoons, Sir Albert Cunningham, and Gwin: Foot, the Lieut. Generals own Regiment, Sir Hen. Bellasis, Sir Jo. Hammer, C. Babington, L. Dregheda, C. Guyl, Hambleton, C. Mitchelburn, C. Tiffin, C. St. John's, and L. Geor. Hambleton. I shall leave therefore his Majesty going Westwards, and give an Account of L. G. Douglas's Affairs till he joyns the King at Cariganlis, within five Miles of Limerick. Lieu. Gen. Doug Lieutenant-
las and his Party encamped that night nigh Chappel Iffard; and General Doug-
next day at Manouth: Friday we encamp'd at Glencurry, about las goes to Ath-
five Miles further, and we had not got this length till we begun lone.
to plunder, though the General gave strict Orders to the con-
trary. Saturday the 12th, we marched to Clenard Bridge; here
we staid all Sunday, and Lieutenant General Douglas took an ac-
count of every man in his Party, that he might have Bread pro-
vided accordingly; the Soldiers went abroad and took several
things from the Irish, who had staid upon the King's Declara-
tion; and frequent complaints came already to the General; but
Plundering went on still, especially amongst the Northern men,
who are very dextrous at that Sport. Sunday morning Cap-
tain Aughmonty, of Colonel Woolsey's Regiment, went with a
Party of Horse towards the County of Longford. And Mon-
day the 14. they met the Army at Mullingar, (whither we
marched) and several of the Irish came in for Protections, tho'
when they had them they were of little force to secure their
Goods or themselves.

The Party that was sent out, brought in a great Prey of Cat-
tle from the Enemies Quarters; and took two Spies with Let-
ters from Athlone; one was, to advise one Tute to defend an Two Spies re-
Island nigh Mullingar, in which he had store of Horses, and se-
veral things of value: Another Letter was from an Officer at ken.
Athlone, to his Father in the Country, telling him, that my
Lord Tyrconnel, the Duke of Berwick, and several more great
Officers

July.

Officers were come to Limerick with a good Body of Horse, and that all their Army would be there in two or three days, so that they would make either a Hog or a Dog on't, (as he exprest it,) That the *Dauphin* was landed in *England* with a great Army ; That the *French* had beat the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets ; That Duke *Schomberg* was dead ; and it was said the Prince of *Orange* was so too ; that their King was gone for *France*, but it was no great matter (he said) where he was, for they were better without him. Then he advised his Father not to take a Protection, because those that did were look't upon as Enemies. And after his Letter was sealed, he had writ on the out-side, *Just now we have an Account, by a Gentleman that's come to us from Dublin, that Orange is certainly dead ; so that all will be well again.* Such were their Hopes and Expectations at that time. But though they believed most of those things, yet they did not certainly know what to make on't ; for they had no good Opinion of the late King, as may appear by a great many Instances ; for *Sarsfield* sometime afterward, speaking of the Action at the *Boyne*, swore, *If we would change Kings, they would fight it over again, and beat us.* For certainly the Courage and Countenance of the chief Commander in Armies is a material Point in the success of the Action, and especially in Kings ; for he that has a Genius to the War has Advantage above other Men ; that makes his Gentry, Nobility, and Officers strive to imitate his Example, by which he is better served, and commonly more fortunate.

The 15th we remained encamped at *Mullingar*, and about 500 *Creights* came from the County of *Longford*, with their Wives, Children, Cattle, and every thing that they could bring away : Their Business was to procure the General's Protection ; which was granted them ; and they moved homewards as the Army marched forwards, but were most of them plunder'd afterwards. There had been a *Friery* at *Mullingar* during the late King's Reign ; but the *Friday* before we got thither the Fathers thought fit to go a Pilgrimage into *Connaught*. This Evening a Party of Col. *Russel's* Horse went towards *Athlone*, and came within three miles of the place, but did no Feats worth the mentioning ; next day we marcht to *Ballymore*, where stands a strong House at the side of a Lough, which the Enemy has since fortified. And *Thursday*, July 17th. we came before *Athlone*, and encamped

July.

encamped within a quarter of a Mile of the Town, the Enemy playing their great Guns upon us as we marched, but did us little damage. The General sent a Drum to Summons the Town; but old Colonel Grace, the Governor, fired a Pistol at him, and sent word those were the Terms he was for. The Town it self stands on a narrow Neck of Land between two Bogs, (one on either side the *Shannon*,) and you cannot come to it, much less pass the River any where, up or down, within six or eight Miles, except at the Town; through the midst of which the River *Shannon* runs, and is both very broad and deep, being by much the greatest in these three Kingdoms. *Ptolomy* calls this River *Senus*; *Giraldus Flumen, Senense*; but the *Irish* call it *Shannon*, that is, the ancient River. It arises out of *Theru* Hills in the County of *Lertrim*, and running through an excellent Country, and several Towns, (particularly *Limerick* and *Athlone*,) it falls into the Sea beyond *Knock-Patrick*, a Mountain upon which St. *Patrick* conjured all the venomous Creatures in *Ireland*, and threw them into the Sea, insomuch that nothing of that kind has appeared, or will live in that Kingdom ever since, (if you'll believe what the *Irish* do;) however, this River is Navigable for above twenty Leagues. That part of *Athlone* standing on the South-side the *Shannon* is called the *English* Town; and that on the other, the *Irish* Town, where stands a very strong Castle. *Athlone* is the Head Town in the County of *Roscommon*, and was formerly the Barony of the *O Kelly's*. There is a very good Stone Bridge between the two Towns, which was built by *Sir Henry Sidney* in *Queen Elizabeth's* time; and because this is commonly accounted the Center of *Ireland*, that *Queen* once designed to make it the Residence of the Lords Justices. The *English* Town not being so easie to defend, the *Irish* burnt it the day before our coming, and broke down the Bridge. They had several very convenient opportunities to disturb us in our march to the Town, because of the Bogs, Woods, and Passes that lay very advantageous for that purpose; but they retired over the River to defend the other side: about 200 Yards above the Town they had raised some Breast-works: On the River side, nigh the end of the Bridge, they had cast up several Redoubts, and other Works, and had planted

July. two Batteries of two Guns a piece, besides what were in the Castle.

Friday we spent in contriving our Batteries, and our Works, and on Saturday we planted two Field-Pieces, which did the Enemies Guns some damage: Then one hundred and fifty Men out of each Regiment were ordered to make and carry Fascines; and in two days more we had a Battery of six Guns finished, nigh the Bridge-end, which plaid upon the Castle, and made a small Breach towards the top. On Sunday the 20th the General sent a Detachment of Horse, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Barry, and 150 Granadeers mounted, commanded by Major Morgison and Captain Carlile, towards Lanesbrough Pals, but they returned the next day, without doing any thing that was remarkable; the Enemy having a Fort well mann'd towards the Bridge, and four Companies of Foot in the Town. That day one Captain Mackgill, a Voluntier, was kill'd at our Battery with a Cannon-shot from the Castle. Our Train at Athblone was only two twelve Pounders, ten lesser Guns, and two small Field-Mortars; which when planted against the Castle, did it little or no damage: (This was a misfortune that Lieutenant-General Douglas found Athblone stronger than he expected, for it's said, he had what Guns and Men he desired to reduce it withal.) The firing continued, however, on both sides; and on Tuesday one Mr. Nelson, our best Gunner, was killed with a small Shot. On Wednesday we had news that Sarsfield, with 15000 Men was coming to raise the Siege; which made the General send all his sick and wounded Men towards Mullingar. Next Morning early the Besieged hung out a Bloody Flag, which occasioned smart firing; and in the Evening the General called all the Colonels to a Council of War, where he told them the necessity of removing from the Town; for we had very little Bread all the while, and there was some reason to believe the Irish Army would cut off our Communication from Dublin. So that we had Orders to be ready to march at twelve a Clock that Night: We begun at the time appointed to send away our Baggage; and at break of day, or a little after, we march'd off, the Enemy not so much as firing one Gun at us.

I know

July.

Reasons why it
was not taken.

I know that whilst we lay here there were some that prefer'd to pass the River at a Ford a little above the Bridge, and so beat the *Irish* out of their Works ; but this was sooner said than done, for the Ford is naturally very deep and dangerous ; besides, the *Irish* had fortified the other side with Breast-works, two Batteries, and a considerable Fort : And then if we had forced our way over, and could not have taken the Castle in a small time, we must have been obliged to fight the greatest part of the *Irish* Army, which was then drawing down upon us. Nay, if we had been Masters of the Town and Castle, the *Irish* might so have ordered it, as to have cut off our Communication from *Dublin*, and so starved us, for we were already glad of a very small allowance of Bread.

Colonel *Grace*, the Governour, had been very active on the *Irish* side in the last Wars, but was now very old, and this was the third time that he had burnt that Town : The Enemy had in it three Regiments of Foot, nine Troops of Dragoons, and two of Horse, and more lay encamped not far off. During our stay here (which was from *Thursday* the 17th, to *Friday* the 25th,) the Country People, of all Perswasions, begun to think us troublesome.

This must be said for Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, that both whilst he staid here, and all along on his March, he constantly gave out very strict Orders against Plundering or Stragling from the Army. But it were better that good Rules were not made, than when they are so, they should not be observed, and the breakers escape punishment. For some Peoples taking liberty to break Rules, encourage others to lose their Reverence to them. Example always goes further than Precept, and most Men see better than they understand ; so that whatever Rules are made in an Army by a General, they are to be observed by every one ; else with what Justice can one be punished for the breach of those Orders, which others make no Conscience in obeving.

July.

What Men lost
there.

We lost in this Expedition not above thirty Men before the Town, and the Enemy very few ; but in our March to and again, what with Sickness, hard Marching, the Rapparees surprising as they straggled, and several other Disadvantages, we fell short of our number three or four hundred ; though before we got to the King's Army we kill'd and took Prisoners a great many thousands, but more of these had four Feet than two.

All the poor Protestants thereabouts were now in a worse Condition than before, for they had enjoyed the Benefit of the *Irish Protections* till our coming thither ; and then shewing themselves Friends to us, put them under a necessity of retreating with us ; which a great many did, leaving all their Harvest at that time ready to cut down, &c. and yet were hardly used by our own Men.

On our first Days March backwards, the General received an Express from the King, (some say it was to draw off and joyn the Army, and that he had positive Orders before not to pass the *Shannon* at all :) And at the same time we had an Account of a Conspiracy in *England* against the Queen, and that some *French* were landed there, having burnt some Towns on the Coast ; And it was reported also that the late King was landed in that Kingdom. We marched back that Day to *Ballimore*, where we staid four Days ; on one of which there happened the greatest Thunder and Lightning that has been heard of in those parts. And about this time several of the *Irish* that had taken Protections, when they could not have the benefit of them, began to turn Rapparees, stripping, and sometimes killing our Men that they found straggling.

On the 30th of *July*, Colonel *Babington's* Regiment marched from *Ballimore* towards *Dublin* ; and the same day Lieutenant-General *Douglas* marched with all the rest of his Party to *Stony-Cross*, (which is out of all publick Roads from *Dublin*, and so were most of our future Marches, till we joyn'd the King's Army, which was one reason why we had little or no Bread for almost four days together, and after that but a very slender allowance,) Lieutenant General Douglas marches to join the King's Army.

August.

lowance.) From this place, we marched to *Ballyboy*, and as we went along, the General ordered one of his own men to be Shot immediately, for *Morodeing* (as they called it.) The General had given out orders, that none should stir out of their Ranks on pain of Death: however, this poor Fellow and four more were not so observant of their duty as they ought to be, which the General espying, caused them to be seiz'd immediately, and throw Dice for their lives. We had an Account at *Ballyboy*, that the Enemy was at *Banober Bridge* with a very strong party, to disturb our march, which made us next day strike to the left, to *Roscreaugh*, instead of going to *Bur* as we desighned, for that way was full of Woods and narrow Passes, where the Enemy had great Advantage of us. We stayed at *Roscreaugh*, the second of *August*, and on the third in the Morning, came twelve Troopers from the King's Army (who lay then at *Goulden Bridge*) to hasten our march, for the King exprest himself to be in trouble, lest the Enemy should be too many for us in that place. That day we marched beyond the *Devils Bit*, and all along as we passed, we could see the Rapparees looking upon us from the Mountains, but we had now so many Cattle, Horses and Attenders, on our marches, as made us look as big nigh-hand as the other part of the Army, and the Souldiers used to lay, that the Cattle and Sheep themselves could tell by their different tones to whom they belonged. From this place all down to *Cashel*, and so towards *Clonmel* and *Waterford* one way, and towards *Tipperary* and *Limerick* another, is one of the finest Countries I ever saw, if it had Inhabitants accordingly, (Great part of it is called the *Goulden Vale*.) On the 4. Colonel *Wolstey's* Horse, Colonel *Tiffins*, and St. *Johns* Foot, marched back from hence towards *Mullingar*, to secure the Country, they came so far lest the Enemy should attack us; and now we being secure, they marched back another way.

August.

We marched on the 5. to *Holy Cross*, nigh *Thurles*, which of old enjoyed several peculiar Privileges and Freedoms granted in Honour of a piece of Christ's Cross there found (as the Story goes.) This place by K. *Henry 8.* gave the Title of *Barons* to the *Butlers*. The General I believe, had heard that several people had enjoy'd great Privileges at this place in the days of old,

August

old, and therefore he gave his Souldiers liberty this afternoon, to take what they pleased for their sustenance, but the true reason was, because we had no Bread. The 6. we marched to a Village called *Dundrum*, a little to the North of *Cashel*, one of the most Ancient Cities in *Ireland*, famous of old, for the Preaching of St. *Patrick*, where afterwards was built a very considerable Cathedral, it was made an Archiepiscopal dignity by *Eugenius* the third Bishop of *Rome*, and had under it in times past, many Bishopricks and Suffragans. As you go up to this Church, there is a Stone upon which Antiently all the Kings of *Munster* used to be Crowned. (I suppose it was after the same manner with the *Ulster* Kings, which was by throwing an old shoe over their heads, and sometimes by killing a white Cow, &c.) There are several Monuments of good Antiquity in this Church, and it was remarkable in the late Wars, for my Lord *Inchiquens* killing all the Priests that were got into it, and pretended with a Body of the *Irish*, to defend the place, which naturally is pretty strong, and its called at this day, the *Rock*, because it stands on the top of one. On the 7. we marched to *Cullen*, and on the 8. to *Carriganish*, whither the Kings Army was gone from *Goulden Bridge*. It's therefore convenient, that I should give the best Account I can of their march from *Dublin* thither.

In the year
1318. The
Archb. of *Cashel*
was both Lord
Justice, and
Lord Chancellor

The King's
march towards

On the 9. of *July*, His Majesty, with his Army Encamped at *Cromlin*, within two miles of *Dublin* Westwards, where he setteld the method of granting Protections according to his Declaration. And gave a Commission to the Bishop of *Meath*, my Lord *Longford*, Dr. *Gorge*, Captain *Fitz-Gerald*, Mr. *Coughland*, Dr. *Davis* and Captain *Corker*, to save all forfeited Goods; and to see that those, and the Corn upon the Estates of all Absentees, were safely kept, or disposed on for the King's use. The Bishop of *Meath*, whether out of dislike to the proceedings of the rest, or averseness to busines, soon forbore his Attendance at their meetings, the rest went on in their Busines, but in such a method as was neither to the King's advantage nor satisfaction, and not much to their own Credits. The 10. in the morning his Majesty set forth a Proclamation, to put a stop to the passing of Brass Money, only at the valuations following, *viz.* Every large

August.

large half Crown, and new stamp'd Crown at a penny, the small half Crown at three farthings, the large Copper Shilling at an half-penny, the small Shillings and Six-pences at farthings, &c. And the same day, the Army Encamp't between the *Ness* and *Racolee*. Little hapned remarkable, except the King's great care to keep the Souldiers from Plundring the Country, and every night, it was given out in orders that on pain of death, no man should go beyond the Line in the Camp, or take violently to the least value from either Protestant or Papist. The 11. the Army marched to *Kill-Kullen Bridge*, the King this morning passing by the *Ness*, saw a Souldier Robbing a poor Woman, which intaged his Majesty so much, that he beat him with his Cane, and gave orders, that he and several others, guilty of the like disobedience, should be Executed the *Monday* following, some people were so wicked as put a bad construction on this Action of the King's, but it had so good an effect upon that part of the Army, that the Country was secured from any violence done by the Souldiers during that whole march, two of the other Sufferers were *Iniskillin Dragoons*. On *Sunday* the Army rested, and on *Munday* they marched to *Tommalin*, several of the Country people and some Gentlemen that were Papists coming in, to whom the King ordered Protections. We heard all along on our march of the Confusion the Enemy was in, and had Accounts daily, of their resorts to *Limerick*, and other strong places; whilst we were here, several came to us from *Kilkenny*, who gave his Majesty an Account of the State of that Garrifon, that part of the Enemies Horse and Foot were there still, but with thoughts of quitting the Town upon our approach, and at their going off they made the Inhabitants give them a sum of money to save the Town from Plundring. From *Tommalin* we marched to *Castle-Dermot*, where stood in old time, two or three Religious Houses, the Ruins of which as yet remain; one of these was of the Fryars *Minors*, Sackt and Plundred by the *Scots*, under *Bruce*, in the year 1316. In which year, the *Irish* were here also overthrown by *Edward Bottilar* (or *Buttler*) Lord Justice of *Ireland*. Here the King received some Packets from *England*, giving him a further Account of his Fleet, and Sea affairs, which was easily understood not to be very grateful, and as is supposed, was the occasion of our slow marches. Several Protestants every day came

August.

came to the Camp, all expressing their great Joy and Satisfaction for his Majesties Presence and their Deliverance. We had also an Account here, of some that took Protections, and yet in the night made their escape to the Enemy, having only got those Protections thereby to procure a better opportunity of going off with what they had; upon which parties were sent out on all hands to clear the Mountains and Woods near the Army, which kept the rest at home; from hence Colonel *Eppingar* went with a party of 1000 Horse and Dragoons, to secure *Wexeford*, which some time before was deserted by the *Irish* Garrison. This Town was first taken by *Fitz Stephen*, in the Reign of King *Hen. 2.* And hereabouts were the first *English* planted in *Ireland*; they were a Colony of West-Country men, and retain their old *English* Tone and Customs to this day. I am credibly informed, that every day about one or two a Clock in Summer, they go to Bed the whole Country round, nay, the very Hens fly up, and the Sheep go to Fold as orderly as it were night.

The Army rested a day at *Castle Dermot*, and the next day marched beyond *Carlow*, sending forwards a party of Horse, under the Command of the Duke of *Ormond*, to take possession of *Kilkenny*, and to secure the Protestants, and other Inhabitants in the Country about, from being Plundered by the Enemy; for by this time some of them adventured to look behind them, and to return to take along what they had not time nor conveniency to carry off at first: Here the Army stay'd a day also, and the next day marched to a place called *Kells*, two miles beyond *Loughlind Bridge*, and the day following to *Bennets Bridge*, three miles to the North East of *Kilkenny* upon the same River.

The 19. his Majesty dined with the Duke of *Ormond*, at his Castle of *Kilkenny*; this House was preserved by the Count *de Lauzun*, with all the Goods and Furniture, and left in a good Condition, nor without the Cellars well furnished with what they had not time to drink at their going off. *Kilkenny* signifies the Cell or Church of *Canick*, who for the Sanctimony of his Solitary Life in this Country was highly Renowned; this was one of the best Inland Towns in *Ireland*: The *Irish* Town has in it the said *Canick's Church*, now the Cathedral of the

The Duke of
Ormond goes
with a party
to Killkenny.

the Bishop of Ossory. The English Town was built by *Randolph* the third Earl of *Chester*, and fortified with a Wall on the *West* side, by *Robert Talbot* a Nobleman, and this Castle by the *Butlers*, Ancestors to the present Duke of *Ormond*.

On *Sunday* the 20th. They marched six Miles farther, and Encamp'd at a Place called *Rosse Narrow*, upon the Estate of one *Mr. Read*, where the King had an Account of one *Fitz Morrice*, Sheriff of the *Queens County*, that was under Protection, and afterwards went off in the Night with his Family and all his Stock: the King had also News that the Enemy had quitted *Clonmel*, whether *Count Schomberg* marched with a Body of Horse. This is one of the strongest Towns in *Ireland*, and cost *Oliver Cromwel* at least 2000 Men in taking it: the *Irish* made some Pretensions to hold it out now; in order to which they levelled all the Suburbs and Hedges, but all they did was to make the Inhabitants pay them 300*l.* to save the Town from being burnt or plunder'd: it stands upon the River *Sure*, in a pleasant and fruitful Country. Here my Lord *George Howard*, and some more, came in and submitted, who had Protections.

Monday the 21st. The Army marched to *Carruck*, situate up-
on a Rocky Ground, whence it took its Name (being called *Carruck Mac Griffin*) the Habitation formerly of the Earls of *Ormond*; which, together with the Honour of Earl of *Carruck*, King *Edw. II.* Granted unto *Edward Boteler* or *Butler*, whose Posteriority (the present D. of *Ormond*) still enjoy it. There the King received an Account of the State of *Waterford* (by some that escaped from thence) and of the Resolution of the Garrison to hold out. There also the King had some Intelligence of the Condition of the City of *Cork* and that County, with great Sollicitations from the Inhabitants to hasten to their Relief, which at that time they represented as a thing very easie.

On the 22d. Major General *Kirk* with his own Regiment, and Colonel *Brewers*; as also a Party of Horse went towards *Waterford*, more Forces designing to follow. The Major General sent a Trumpet to Summon the Town, who at first refused to surrender, (there being Two Regiments then in Garrison) their Refusal however was in such Civil Terms, that we easily understood their Inclinations; for soon after they sent out again to know what Terms they might have, which were the same with *Drogheda*; but not liking those, they proposed some

July.

of their own; which were, That they might enjoy their Estates, The Liberty of their Religion, A safe Convoy to the next Garrison, with their Arms and proper Goods: those would not be granted, and then the heavy Cannon were drawn down that way, and some more Forces ordered to march; but the Irish understanding this, sent to ask Liberty to march out with their Arms, and to have a safe Convoy, which was granted them; and accordingly on the 25th. they marched out with their Arms, and Baggage, being conducted to Mallow.

And Surrendered.

* This Fort was also given John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, but afterwards by Act of Parliament it was annexed to the Crown for ever.

In the mean time the Fort of * *Duncanon*, Seven Miles below Waterford, was summon'd. This is a strong and regular Fortification, being at that time Commanded by one Captain *Burk*, and well furnished with Guns, and all other Necessaries: the Governour required Seven days to Consider of it, which being denied him, he said he would take so much time; but upon the approach of our Forces, and the appearing of some Ships before it, he surrendered upon the same Terms with Waterford.

The day that *Waterford* Surrendred, the King himself went to see it, and took great care that no Persons should be disturbed in their Housers or Goods. Here we found my Lord *Dover*, who was admitted to a more particular Protection, he having formerly applied himself when the King was at *Hillsborough*, by a Letter to Major General *Kirk*, to desire a Pals for himself and Family into *Flanders*. The City of *Waterford* was built first by certain Pyrates of *Norway*, and afterwards won from the *Irish* by *Richard Earl of Pembroke*: The Citizens hereof had large Privileges granted them by King *Hen. 7.* for demeaning themselves Loyally against *Perkin Warbeck*. It was Granted by Patent from King *Hen. 6.* to *John Tolbot Earl of Shrewsbury* and his Heirs, who by the same Patent were to be Senescals of *Ireland*. But this City afterwards was annexed to the Crown.

At the King's returning to the Camp, His Majesty held a Council, wherein he declares his Resolution to go for *England*: In the mean time our Horse Encamped between *Carruck* and *Cleamell*, and the Earl of *Granard* came to wait on His Majesty; he receiving at the same time an Express from Lieutenant General *Douglass*, who gave but an indifferent Account of that Expedition.

The King.
Speaks of going
for England.

On

On the 27th. the King left the Camp at *Carruck*, and went towards *Dublin*, in order for *England*; which occasioned various Conjectures, and some Apprehensions that the Affairs of *England* were in no pleasing Posture. His Majesty left Count *Solmes* Commander in Chief, and went that night to *Carlow*, Count *Solmes* left General. where he met with some Accounts from *England*, upon which he exprest himself doubtful whether to go over or return to the Army. However he went on as far as *Chappel Izard*, and there he was employed for about Three days in hearing Petitions; some of which related to the violation of Protections, and the Outrages committed by Lieutenant General *Douglas*'s Party: As also others about Abuses and Inconveniences from the late Commission; and several complaints were made against Col. *Trelawney*'s Regiment then in *Dublin*. Here the King gave Orders that Count *Schomberg*'s Horse, Col. *Mathews*'s Dragoons, Col. *Hastings*'s and Col. *Trelawney*'s Foot, with one Troop of Guards should be shipt for *England*; and on the first of *August* published ^{A Second Declaration.} a Second Declaration not only confirming and strengthning the former, but also adding, That if any Foreigners in Arms against Him would submit, they should have passes to go into their own Countries, or whether they pleased. And another Proclamation came out, dated *July 31*. Commanding all the Papists to deliver up their Arms; and those who did not, were to be look'd upon as Rebels and Traytors, and abandoned to the discretion of the Souldiers. And at the same time was likewise published ^{A Proclamation on for a Fast.} a Proclamation for a general Fast to be kept constantly every Friday during the War, in all parts of the Kingdom under his Majesty's Obedience, for asking God's pardon for our Sins, and imploring a Blessing upon their Majesties Forces by Sea and Land. At this time also Mr. *Poyne*, Mr. *Reves*, and Mr. *Rothford*, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, began to act, and received Instructions from the King how to proceed.

And now the King received a further account from *England*, that my Lord *Torrington* and several more were secured, and that several wicked Designs were discovered and prevented; That the loss at Sea was not so great as was at first reported; and that the French had only burnt a small Village in the *West* of *England*, and gone off again; so that the danger of this being partly over, His Majesty resolved to

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The King returns to the Army.

return to the Army ; he lessened his Baggage and Retinue, giving his spare Horses to the Train ; and then, on the 2d. of August went back towards his Army, which he found then at Goulden Bridge ; on which day a Soldier was hang'd for mutining. Here the King stay'd a day or two, and had Accounts from several Deserters of the Preparations the Enemy was making for their own defence and safety. On the 6th. the King with his Army march'd to Sallywood, having the day before sent a Party of Horse towards Limerick. And on the 7th. His Majesty marched to Carigallis, within five Miles of Limerick. Upon our approach thither, the Enemy burnt and levell'd all the Suburbs ; as also set fire to all the Houses in the Country between us and the Town. On the 8th of August early in the Morning my Lord Portland, and Brigadeer Stuart were sent towards Limerick, with about Eleven hundred Horse and Foot, who advanced within Cannon shot of the Town , but met with little opposition from the Enemy ; and before they returned, his Majesty went out with about Three hundred Horse, being accompanied with Prince George, the Heir Overkirk, Major General Ginkle, and several other great Officers. When these went nigh the Town, a Party of the Enemies Horse advanced toward them : But Captain Selby, of my Lord of Oxford's Regiment having the advance Guard, drew towards them, with a design to charge them ; which they perceiving, thought fit to draw homewards, their Cannon firing from the Town several times. Then in the Evening Lieutenant General Douglass with his Party joyn'd the Kings Army.

A Party sent towards Limerick.

The whole Army make their Approach.

The 9th. of August in the Morning early, the King sends three Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, with a Detachment of One thousand Foot , Commanded by Sir Henry Bellasis (as Brigadeer) my Lord Progbeda, and Colonel Earle, as an Advance Guard to make the first approach, and all the Army both Horse and Foot followed in order. About six a Clock our Advance Party discovered some of the Enemy upon the top of an Hill, three Miles on this side the Town : Our Men drew up, and then marched slowly forwards ; and as we proceeded the Enemy disappear'd by degrees, till they were all gone off the Hill : We drew forward ; and about half a Mile further we cou'd see a great part of the Town from a rising ground, but could not discover the ways to it, nor who were between us and it, because

because of a great many thick Inclosures and Lanes ; in one of which the Enemy appeared again. Our Men halted a little till the Pioneers had cut down the Hedges to the right and left ; which done, they advanced, and the Enemy drew back. This took some time a doing, and therefore the Front of our Army, both of Horse and Foot came up : The King was here at first riding from one place to another to order Matters, as his Custom always was. We cut the Hedges in a great many places, and went forwards, and the Enemy they drew home-wards till they came to a narrow Pass between two Bogs, within half a Mile of the Town. The Neck of Land between these Bogs is not above 150 Yards over, and this full of Hedges, with a large Orchard, a Stone Wall, and also the Ruines of a great House upon the Lane-side, which the *Irish* had burnt the Day before. But there were Three Laines that led this way towards the Town, the middlemost being the broadest, the *Irish* Horse stood in it, on the Pass beyond this old House ; and whilst our Pioneers were at work, the Front of our Horse went up so close, that there were several little Fi-rings, but not much damage done on either side : To the Right and Left of the *Irish* Horse, the Hedges were all lined with Musqueteers, of whom our Foot were got now within less than two hundred Yards. The Pioneers laboured at the Hedges all this while, and the Army made their Approaches in excellent Order : The detached Party of Foot was upon the Advance towards the Centre, the Horse a little to the Right of them, followed by the Earl of *Drogheda*'s Regiment, and Lieutenant General *Douglas* at the Head of them (my Lord *Drogheda* himself being upon the Advance Guard.) The *Danes* were towards the Left, led on by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, and Major General *Kirk* : The Blue *Dutch*, and several *English* Regiments, were upon the Right : All those were lined with Horse, and these supported again with more Foot : So that all Men that understood it, said it was a most curious sight ; for though the Hedges were very thick and troublesome, yet it was so ordered, that the Front kept all on a Line except the advance Party, who went always some distance before. Whilst things were going on thus, the King ordered two Field Pieces to be planted toward the Left, where they could bear upon the Enemies Horse. These fired several times, and the Enemy soon quitted that

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that Post. Our English Foot were so little concern'd, that though they knew the Enemy to be in the next Hedges, yet whilst the Pioneers were at work, they would sit them down, and ask one another, whether they thought they should have any Bread to day? (for they began to want their Breakfasts, though some few of them went to the next World for it.) The *Danes* to the Left stood with all the Care and Circumpection in the World; but observing the Posture of some of our Men, and hearing what they said, they believed we had no mind to fight; yet no sooner were the Hedges down, and our Front advancing in a narrow Field but the *Irish* fired a whole Volley upon them from the Neighbouring Hedges; which our Men seeing, some of them cry'd aloud, *Ab ye Toads, are ye there? we'll be with you presently*: And being led on by my Lord *Drogheda* and Colonel *Earle*, they ran along the Field, directly towards the Hedges where the *Irish* were planted; which the others seeing, immediately quitted, and then our Men fired upon them as they retreated to the next Hedges, and so beat them from one Hedge to another, even to the very end of the Suburbs, which then were all burnt and levelled. During this Action, the *Danes* advanced in the Left, and the Blue *Dutch* with the *English* on the Right, the Horse coming on in the Centre; so that in less than half an hour from the first Volley, the *Irish* were driven under their very Walls; nor did we lose a dozen Men in all this Action: When as if the *Irish* had managed this Advantage of Ground, and fortified the Pass, as well as *Ireton's* Fort on the Right of it, (which was built by *Ireton* on his first coming before *Limerick*:) It stands on a Rising Ground, and over-looks the Pass on one side, and the Town on the other: (This we commonly called *Cromwel's Fort*) they might have kept us some Days from approaching the Town; at least, they might have killed us a great many Men: But the truth is they had not time for all this: They had drawn up, however, several Companies of Men in the Fort, but when they saw us coming on, they retreated towards the Town without ever firing a Shot.

We were not as yet saluted with one Great Gun from the Town, because their own Men had been between them and us, but as soon as they retreated under the Walls, they let fly a main amongst us, and kill'd several as they marched in; amongst

mongst others, a French Captain had both his Legs shot off, and died presently. We drew four Field pieces immediately to *Cromwells Fort*, playing them upon the Town and the Out-works; and before Five a Clock in the Afternoon, all our Army was marched in, and most of them encamp'd within Cannon-shot. In a Siege the first two things that are to be regarded, is the safe Encamping our Men, and the drawing the Line of Countervallation, to prevent the Enemy from Sallying; but the latter of these we did not much mind, because I suppose we did not much fear any desperate Sallies; and the former was in some measure prevented by the situation of our Camp. The *Danes* encamped to the Left, where they found an Old Fort built by their Ancestors, which they were very proud of; and from thence they fired Three or four Field-Pieces upon the *Irish* that lay entrenched between them and the Town. The Detached Party kept an Advance Post till they were relieved about Nine a Clock, and the Lord *Drogheda's* Regiment was placed next the Town, nigh *Cromwel's* Fort, where they were to stop the Enemies Career, if they attempted a Sally.

As soon as our Army was posted, the King ordered a Trumpet to be sent with a Summons to the Town; and as we understood since, a great part of the Garrison were for Capitulating, but Monsieur *Boisjeau*, the Governour, the Duke of *Barwick*, and Colonel *Sarsfield* opposed it with a great deal of Heat, telling them, that there were great Divisions and Insurrections in *England*; That the *Dauphin* was landed there with Fifty Thousand Men, and that the Prince of *Orange* would be obliged soon to draw home his Army into *England*. The Trumpeter was sent back from Monsieur *Boisjeau*, with a Letter directed to Sir *Robert Southwell*, Secretary of State (not sending directly to the King, because he would avoide (I suppose) giving him the Title of Majesty,) That he was surprised at the Summons, and that he thought the best way to gain the Prince of *Orange's* Good Opinion, was by a vigorous defence of that Town which his Master had entrusted him withal. That Evening a Party of Dragoons was sent to view the Pass at *Annaghbegg*, Three Miles above *Limerick*, where Six of the Enemies Regiments of Foot, Three of Horse, and Two of Dragoons were posted, on the other side of the River,

The Answer.

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ver, where there stood a large New House, with a great many Brick Walls about it, and several convenient Hedges were adjoining to the River: They fired from thence upon our Men, but did little or no Execution, and that Night they marched off to the Town. The Cannon played on both sides till it grew dark, and next Morning early, being *Sunday*, the 10th. the King sent Eight Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, Commanded by Lieutenant General *Ginkle*, and Three Regiments of Foot, under Major General *Kirk*, who passed the River without any opposition, and immediately His Majesty went thither himself: The Stream was very *rapid and dangerous*, though the River has not been known to be so low these many Years. The King at his Return, left Major General *Kirk*, with his own, Brigadeer *Stuart's*, and my Lord *Meath's* Regiments, who encamp't one beyond the Ford, and two on this side, having a Party of Horse (relieved every Twenty Four Hours) to support them.

A Cornet this Morning deserted the Enemy, who told the King, That a great many in Town were for surrendring, but prevented by *Sarsfield* and *Boisjeau*; That count *Lauzun*, with the *French*, were encamp't nigh *Galloway*, the *Irish* refusing to receive them into Town (because themselves had done so with the *Irish* sometime before at *Limerick*:) That my Lord *Tyrconnel*, with most of the *Irish* Horse, and some Foot, were encamped on the other side, about Six or Eight Miles from *Limerick*: That there were Fourteen Regiments of Foot, with Three of Horse, and Two of Dragoons then in Town. The King sent that afternoon a small Party of Horse to discover my Lord *Tyrconnel*, but he was then removed about Ten Miles further off towards *Galloway*.

But it will be convenient that I here give as good a Description of the City, and its Situation, as I can of a Place that I had not the liberty to go into, though I have been sometimes very near it. It's therefore for Circumference once of the largest in that Kingdom, except *Dublin*, and the Houses are generally built very strong within the Walls, being made most of them Castle-ways, with Battlements: It stands upon the River *Shanon*, and though it be nigh Sixty Miles from the Sea, yet Ships of Burden can come up to the Bridge; for the River below the Town looks like an Arm of the Sea. One part stands

A Party pass
the River.The Town de-
scribed.

stands on *Munster* side, and is called the *Irish Town*, being compassed about with a very strong Stone-Wall, and without this a Counterscarp with Pallisado's, and also several Forts and Bastions; and on the inside the Wall they had cast up a vast Ditch, with an huge Bank of Earth and Stones, having only a place left to go in and out. The River about a quarter of a Mile above the Town, splits it self in two; and between the Branches lies a most pleasant spot of Ground, called the *King's Island*, being about Two Miles Circumference, on the lower end of which stands the greater part of *Limerick*, where there is a Castle, and a Cathedral Church. This also is invested with a Stone-Wall, and is called the *English Town*, between which and the *Irish Town* there is a very large Stone-Bridge; and beyond the *English Town*, upon the further Branch of the River, there is another Bridge that leads into the County of *Clare*, near which stands a considerable Fort of Stone, and the *Irish* cast up several more of Earth, and made great Fortifications in the *King's Island*, at which they were busie all the while we continued there. Here the *Irish* kept continually a strong Guard, having also, during our stay, Two or Three Regiments entrenched, opposite to the *Danes* on *Munster* side, towards the *West* of the *Irish Town*.

This Place was first won from the *Irish* by *Reimond the Gross*, an *Englishman*, and Son of *William Fitz Gerald*, but afterwards burnt by *Duvenald*, an *Irish* Petty King of *Thoumnd*; and then in procel of time *Philip Bruce* was infeoffed of it, and it became an *English* like Town, being fortified with a Castle, and wall'd, by King *John*. In the late times *Cromwel* was call'd over into *England* before his Army reached that Place, and *Ireton* managed the Siege, who died here afterwards. He laid a great many Monthis before it, and did not take it at last. Colonel *Fennel*, and others of the *Irish*, in some respect, betray'd the Town to him; for against the *Governour's* Consent they drew up Articles, and sending them to *Ireton's* Camp, on the 27th of October 1651. they received Two hundred Men at *St. John's Gate*, and more into another Fort, called *Price's Mill*; next day getting possession of the Town, *Ireton* hang'd several of thole that were still for defending of it.

But to come again to our Busines: The *Irish* began also to make two small Forts between us and the *Irish Town*, one *Forts*.

August.

nigh the *South Gate*, about the middle of the Suburbs, where stood Two Chimneys, and it had that Name; the other towards the *East*, nigh that part of the Wall where we afterwards made a Breach: They had a Citadel towards the *West*, whereon they had several Guns, which plagued us till we kill'd that Gunner, and then we were more at ease from that Quar'ter. There was a Spur at the *South Gate*, whereon the greatest of their Guns were planted, and at another small Gate, with a Sally-port (called *St. John's Gate*) towards the *East*, they had also a Battery of Three Guns, which from its Colour we called the *Black Battery*: This was just under the place where we made our Breach. Our Camp was ordered thus: The King's Camp was to the Right, in the Second Line; next him the Horse Guards, and *Blue Dutch*; then some *English* and *Dutch* Regiments, then the *French* and *Danes*, and behind all were the Horse, though after some time we rather encamped conveniently than regularly.

Whether it was that his Majesty was made believe the Town would surrender upon Summons, or what else was in it I know not; but when we sat down before *Limerick*, we had only a Field-Train, tho' we had been a Month in our March from *Dublin* thither; and whether it be usual to go before a Town without sufficient Materials to force it, I am no competent Judge: However, there were Six Twenty four Pounders, Two Eighteen Pounders, a great quantity of Ammunition, much Provisions, our Tin Boats, and abundance of other things all at this time upon the Road from *Dublin*, under the Care of two Troops of Colonel *Viller's* Horse.

Notice of our
Guns coming
up, by a De-
fender.

The Day after we got to *Limerick*, a *Frenchman*, (as was reported) a Gunner of ours, run away from us into Town, and gave the Enemy an account where our Train lay, as also of those Guns, and other things that were coming up, the manner of our encamping, and where the King's Tent's stood, with all the Particulars that were material for them to know. They had always a plaguy spight at our Guns, and therefore on *Monday* Morning early they play'd theirs most furiously towards the place where our Train lay. I hapned to be not far from the place that time, and in less than a quarter of an hour I reckon'd Nineteen or Twenty great Shot that fell in a manner all in a Line. This place grew presently so hot, that

We

we were obliged to remove our Train beyond an Hill further off. They fired also all this day, and the next, at the places where the King's Tents stood, killing some Men, as also Two of the Prince of Denmark's fine Horses: His Majesty was advised to remove to some more convenient and secure Ground, which he did.

Munday the 11th in the Morning, we planted six Twelve Pounders at Cromwell's Fort, which dismounted one of the Enemies best Guns upon the Spur, and did further damage to the Houses in the Town. The same Morning came one *Manus O Brian*, a substantial Country Gentleman to the Camp, and gave notice that *Sarsfield* in the Night had passed the River with a Body of Horse, and design'd something extraordinary: For when *Sarsfield* heard what the *Frenchman* had told, he was pretty sure, that if those Guns, Boats, and other Materials came up to us, the Town would not be able to hold out; and therefore he resolves to run a hazard, and destroy them in their March, if it were possible; if he succeeded, then he broke our Measures; but if not, he then designed for *France*, if he did but survive the Attempt: In order to which, he takes all the best Horse and Dragoons that were in Town, and that very Night marches over the *Shannon*, at a place called *Killalow*, a Bishop's See on the *Shannon*, Twelve Miles above our Camp. The Messenger that brought the News was not much taken notice of at first, most People looking upon it as a Dream: A great Officer however called him aside, and after some indifferent Questions, askt him about a Prey of Cattel in such a Place; which the Gentleman complain'd of afterwards, saying, he was sorry too see General Officers mind Cattel more than the King's Honour. But after he met with some Acquaintance, he was brought to the King, who, to prevent the worst, gave Orders that a Party of Five hundred Horse should be made ready, and march to meet the Guns: But whether his Majesty's Orders were not delivered to the Officer in Chief that was to command the Party, or where the fault lay, I am no competent Judge; but it was certainly One or Two of the Clock in the Morning before the Party marched, which they did then very softly, till about an hour after they saw a great Light in the Air, and heard a strange rumbling Noise, which some conjectur'd to be the Train blown up, as it really

Sarsfield passes the River.

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was. For on Sunday night our Guns lay at *Cashell*, and on Monday they marched beyond *Cullen*, to a little old ruinous Castle, called *Ballenedy*, not seven Miles from our Camp, and directly in the Rear of it, where they encamped on a small Piece of plain green Ground, there being several Earthen Fences on one tide, and the old Castle on the other: If they had feared the least danger, it had been easie to draw the Guns, and every thing else within the Ruins of that old Castle, and then it had been difficult for an Army, much more a Party, to have touch'd them: Nay, it was easie to place them and the Carriages in such a Figure upon the very Spot where they stood, that it had been certain death to have come nigh them; but thinking themselves at home, so nigh the Camp, and not fearing an Enemy in such a Place, especially since they had no notice sent them of it; they turn'd most of their Horses out to Grass, as being wearied with marching before, and the Guard they left was but a very slender one, the rest most of them going to sleep; but some of them awoke in the next World; for *Sarsfield* all that day lurked amongst the Mountains, and having notice where, and how our Men lay, he had those that guided him through By-ways, to the very Spot, where he fell in amongst them before they were aware, and cut several of them to pieces, with a great many of the Waggoners, and some Country people that were coming to the Camp with Provisions. The Officer commanding in Chief, when he saw how it was, commanded to sound to Horse, but those that endeavoured to fetch them up, were killed as they went out, or else saw it was too late to return: The Officers and others made what resistance they could, but were at last obliged every Man to shift for himself, which many of them did, though they lost all their Horses, and some of them Goods to a considerable value: there was one Lieutenant *Bell*, and some few more of the Troopers killed, with Waggoners and Country People, to the number in all of about Sixty. Then the *Irish* got up what Horses they could meet withal, belonging either to the Troops or Train: some broke the Boats, and others drew all the Carriages and Waggon, with the Bread, Ammunition, and as many of the Guns as they could get in so short a time into one heap; the Guns they filled with Powder, and put their Mouths in the Ground that they might certainly split; what they could pick up in a hurry

The Guns surprised.

August.

hurry they took away, and then laying a Train to the rest, which being fired at their going off, blew up all with an Astonishing noise; the Guns that were filled with Powder flying up from the Carriages into the Air, and yet two of them received no damage, though two more were split and made unserviceable: every thing likewise that would burn, was reduced to Ashes, before any could prevent it. The *Irish* took no Prisoners, only a Lieutenant of Colonel *Earl's* being sick in a House hard by, was stript and brought to *Sarsfield*, who us'd him very civilly, telling him, if he had not succeeded in that Enterprise, he had then gone to *France*. Our Party of Horse that was sent from the Camp, came after the business was over, in sight of the Enemies Rear; but wheeling towards the Left, to endeavour to intercept their Passage over the *Shannon*, they unhappily went another way; since, if our Party had been Fortunate, they had a fair Opportunity first to save the Guns, and then to Revenge their loss, and if either had been done, the Town had surrendered without much more Battering. Sir *Albert Cunningham's* Dragoons were abroad also, who met with some of the *Irish*, kill'd a Major, one Captain *James Fitz Gerald*, and about Fifteen more, but the Main Body marched off secure. Colonel *Villers* went also with another Party of Horse towards *Bryans Bridge*, but the Enemy did not return that way.

This News was very unwelcome to every body in the Camp, the very private Men shewing a greater concern at the loss, than one could expect from such kind of People; the loss of the Guns was not so great, as that of the Horses and Ammunition; but to make the best of a bad Market, the Duke of *Wyrtemberg*, and several Great Officers, sent their own Horses, and every Foot Regiment furnished so many Garrons, to bring up the Guns and broken Carriages; as also to bring up two great Guns and a Mortar that were coming from *Waterford*. We went on with the Siege however, and planted *The Siege goes* several more Guns, and Fireings continued briskly on both sides, on all the Army both Horse and Foot being ordered to make such a number of Fascheenes a day, and bring them to the Heads of their respective Regiments; to which end we cut down most of the Hedges and Orchards about.

August.
Castle-Connel
taken.

On Tuesday the 12th. Brigader Stuart, with a Detachment of his own and my Lord Meath's Men, went towards Castle-Connel with Four Field-Pieces: the Besieged submitted, and were brought Prisoners to the Camp, being 126 in number, commanded by one Captain Balwall. This is a strong place upon the River Shannin, Four Miles above Limerick, built by Richard the Red, Earl of Ulster. (Queen Elizabeth gave the Title of Baron Castle-Connel to William Bourk, for killing James Fitz-Morice, who was a Rebel in those days.) Here we kept a Garrison till the Siege was raised, and then it was blown up. During these Transactions several Parties of Horse were sent abroad; and Wednesday the 13th. Lieutenant Colonel Caulfield was sent to Cullen with a detacht Party of 300 Foot mounted upon Garrons, there to remain as a Guard to those who passed to and from the Camp; as also to scour the Country, the Rapparees (upon the miscarriage of the Guns, and being partly plundered contrary to the King's Orders) beginning to disturb us. Next day there came an Express from Youghal, giving an Account, That they had killed some of the Irish thereabouts that robbed and plundered the Country. (This Place was surrendred to us about 10 days before, and had now a Garrison of 80 Foot and Dragoons.)

Upon some complaints from the North of Ireland, on the 15th, the King sends out his Proclamation, Commanding all to pay Tythes as formerly. These troublesome Times have fallen heavy upon the Clergy of Ireland (who lived very plentifully before) and yet it will be a great while ere they be so poor as their Predecessors: For they say in times past they had no other Rents or Revenues but three Milch Kine apiece, which the Parishioners exchang'd for others new, when they went dry; as Adam Brenensis a German, tells the Story from themselves, as they returned that way on a time from Italy: tho' I suppose the People were then as ignorant as the Clergy poor; but now the Case is altered, and they want neither Encouragement nor Respect.

Sunday the 17th. Monsieur Cambon, our Quarter-master General, was very diligent, in order to have the Trenches opened that night; and all things being prepared, Seven Battalions, consisting of English, Danes, Dutch, and French Foot, commanded by the Prince of Wyrtemberg Lieutenant General, Major General Kirk, Major General Tettau, and Sir Henry Bellasis Brigadier.

deer. The King I suppose, by this mixture, thinking to raise an Emulation in his Soldiers; or further, that they might instruct one another, several Regiments having never been in Trenches before: they were commonly Seven Battalions on at a time, and relieved at Twelve a Clock at night: but this method was altered, for a reason to be given afterwards. This night we advanced our Trenches, and attacht the *Irish* at the two old Chimneys, the Granadeers threw in their Granades, and then endeavoured to get over: this occasioned a general firing from our Trenches, and also from the Town; the King himself was at *Cromwells Fort* to see what happen'd (as he was constantly every night.) The *Irish* in the Fort made no great resistance; but after once firing they cry'd out Murder, and Quarter, but made the best of their way toward the Town; those that stay'd in the Fort were knock'd on the head: The firing from the Walls and Trenches continu'd for at least two Hours longer, by which time we had secured this Fort from the Enemies retaking it.

Next day, being *Monday* the 18th, we planted a Battery below *A Battery* the Fort, to the right of our Trenches, and dismounted some *planced.* of the Enemies Cannon. All that day the Guns plaid briskly on both sides; and at night the Trenches were relieved by Lieutenant General *Douglas*, my Lord *Sidney*, and Count *Nassau*, as Major Generals, and Brigadeer *Stuart*. We made our Approaches toward the Fort without the Wall; and Lieut. Gen. *Douglas's*, and Brigadeer *Stuart's* Regiments were posted towards the right: It was dark when they went on, and they did not perceive the Enemy to be so near them as they really were; for there was at that time scarce Twenty yards distance between them: they were ordered to lye down upon their Arms, which they did; and a great part both of the Officers and Soldiers fell asleep: The Enemy perceived this, and attack'd them, which put them presently into a Confusion, and several of them gave ground, but presently recovered themselves and fired, but they did not know at what: The *Danes* to the left took our own Men for the Enemy sallying, and so fired upon them; they believed the *Danes* to be the *Irish*, and so return'd the Complement. The *Irish* fired upon both, and they at one another. This Confusion lasted nigh two hours; in which time several were killed; nor did the King, or any body

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dy else know what to make of it. At last our Men found their mistake, and the *Irish* were beat in, crying quarter and murder, as they used to do. After this his Majesty ordered the Trenches to be relieved in the day ; and our Men marched always in and out, in the very Face of their Cannon.

The story of the
Irish Deliverer.

About this time we had an Account of one *Balderock Rbo O Donnel*, of the ancient Family of *Tyrconnel* : this Man was born and educated in *Spain*. But there being a Prophecy amongst the *Irish*, that he should free his Country from the *English*, doing great matters in his own Person, and more by his Conduct ; he was sent for on purpose, and came to *Limerick*. It's incredible how fast the vulgar *Irish* flocked to him at his first coming ; so that he had got in a small time Seven or Eight Thousand *Rap- parees*, and such like People together, and begun to make a Figure ; but after a while the Business cool'd, and they were weary of one another : and he is only now a Colonel in *Limerick*. They had another Prophecy also, That he should come to the Field above *Cromwell's Fort*, where stands an old Church, where on a Stone hard by we should pitch our utmost Colours, and afterwards be undone ; with a thousand such like Fop- peries, not worth the naming.

His Majesty
had a narrow
escape.

Tuesday the 19th. our Battery plaid upon the Walls, and also the Guns from *Cromwell's Fort* upon the Houses in Town : And the Enemy were not idle ; for their Shot flew very thick, insomuch that the King riding softly up towards *Cromwell's Fort*, directly as his Horse was entring a Gap, a Gentleman staid His Majesty to speak to him, and in the very moment there struck a Twenty four Pounder in the very place, which would have struck His Majesty, and Horse too, all to pieces, if his usual good Angel had not defended Him ; it struck the Dust all about Him however, tho' he took little notice of it, but alighting, came and laid Him down on the Fort, amongst all the Dust. That Night we planted Four Twenty four Pounders at the Angle of our Trenches, near the South-ealt corner of the Wall, where we made the Breach afterwards.

A Fort taken
from the Irish.

Wednesday the 20th. Colonel *Cut's* Granadeers, commanded by Captain *Foxon*, and my Lord *Meath's*, by Captain *Needham*, were placed conveniently in the Trenches for an Attack ; and at Two a Clock in the Afternoon (the Signal being given by firing Three Pieces of Cannon) they leapt over the Trenches, and

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and ran straignt to the Fort which the Enemy had to the Right of us, at St. John's Gate. The Enemy fired from the Fort, and from the Walls; our Men did the like from the Trenches; and the great Guns went to work on both sides. The Grana-deers threw in their Granades, and Captain *Foxon* made an At-tempt to climb up, but was thrown down again; but entred at the second Trial, and his Men with him: So did my Lord *Meath*'s Men, with Captain *Needham*: and in a small time we were Masters of the Fort. There were about fifty kill'd in it, and twelve with the Captain taken Prisoners, and some made their Escapes to the Town. The firing continued however on both sides for above an hour, and all possible diligence was used to bring down Faggots, wherewith to make up that side of the Fort that was open to the Town. Before the Attack, a Party of our Horse were drawn up in a Lane, to the Right of the Trenches, to prevent the Enemy from sallying, upon which the Enemies Cannon plaid; so that after the Fort was ours, they drew back beyond an Hill for their Security. About an Hour after, some Friend in Town gave notice that the Enemy were going to sally, which they did immediately, both Horse and Foot, from St. John's Gate: Their Horse came up very nigh the Fort, tho' our Men fired from thence and the Trenches as fast they could: Then the small and great Shot on both sides began afresh again. Major *Wood*, of Colonel *Byerley*'s Regiment commanded an Advance Party of twenty four *French* and twenty seven *English* Horse: At the noise he advanced with this Party, and leaping a Ditch, he engaged immediately a Squadron of the *Irish* Horse, and broke them. Then came in Lieutenant Colonel *Windham*, and Captain *Lucy*, as also some *Dutch* and *Danish* Horse: These charged the *Irish* that sallied, and beat them back, following them almost to the very Gate. But we being exposed to all the Enemies Shot from the Walls, lost several in coming off; amongst the rest, Captain *Lucy*, a Gentleman much lamented by all that knew him. The King saw all this Action, (as indeed he did most things that hapned, going often into the Trenches, and never without danger) ex-pressing himself to be in pain for Major *Wood*, when he saw him and his Party in such danger, losing the greatest part of them. Captain *Needham*, after all was over, and he leading his Men off, was shot by a chance Bullet, and died immediately.

They sally.

Augus^t.

We lost at the taking of the Fort, and at the Sally afterwards, 58 Foot kill'd, and 140 wounded ; Horsemen, 21 kill'd, 52 wounded ; 64 Horses kill'd, 57 wounded ; besides the *Danes*. These Men told their Lives dear, and you may easily believe the Enemy gain'd nothing by this Afternoons Work ; for the next Morning two Drummers made their Escape out of Town, who told us the Enemy had lost above 300 Men ; and in two Hours after came a Cornet and four Trumpeters from the Enemies Camp. That Afternoon Captain *Burn* was killed, as he was marching down to relieve the Trenches ; and Major *Morgan* was wounded with a Cannon-bullet, as he lay in Bed, of which he died in two days.

A new Battery.

The 22d we raised a Battery of Eight Guns, most Twenty four Pounders, nigh the Fort that we took the day before, from whence we beat down two Towers that stood upon the Wall, out of which the Enemy fired upon our Trenches. That night we threw good store of Bombs and Carcasses into Town, which disturb'd the Enemy very much, most of them having never seen such things before.

The 23d there was a Drum sent, and a Truce towards the Evening, for the Burying the Dead kill'd on both sides at the taking the Fort. When our People came to look amongst the Dead, they found a French Officer wounded, and his Horse lying upon him, and yet the Gentleman was alive, and, as I heard, he recover'd, tho' he lay from *Wednesday* till *Saturday* in the Evening. I cannot omit a pleasant Adventure that fell out at the taking the Fort, between a Chaplain in the Army and a Trooper. This Chaplain hapned to go down after the Fort was taken, and seeing a Trooper mortally wounded, in all appearance, he fancy'd himself oblig'd to give him his best Advice : the other was very thankful for it ; and whilst they were about the matter, comes the Sally. Our Horse came thundring down, at which the Clergyman making haste to get out of their way, he stumbled and fell down. The wounded Trooper seeing him fall, judg'd he had been kill'd, and stept to him immediately to strip him, and in a trice had got his Coat off on one side : the other call'd to him to hold, and ask'd him what he meant. *Sir*, (says the other) I beg your Pardon ; for I believed you were kill'd, and therfore I thought my self oblig'd to take care of your Clothes, as well as you did of my Soule.

This

August.

This Afternoon was eighty four Prisoners brought to the Camp, from a Castle some twelve or fourteen miles off, called *Nignagh Round*: they kept out the Castle for twenty four hours against Major General *Ginkell* and his Party of about 1500 Horse and Dragoons; they kill'd us fourteen Men; but seeing two Cannon come, and the Soldiers very busie in bringing Faggots for a Battery, they submitted to Mercy. Their Commander was one Captain *O Bryan*. This Afternoon also one of Colonel *Levison's* Dragoons was hanged for deserting. In the Evening our Bombs and red-hot Balls began to fly, which set part of the Town on Fire, which burnt all that night, destroying a great quantity of Hay, with several Houses. I remember we were all as well pleased to see the Town flaming as could be, which made me reflect upon our Profession of Soldiery, not to be over-charg'd with good nature.

The 24th we fired pretty smartly, but our Guns only struck the top of the Wall off, and therefore we raised a new Battery within sixty Yards of the Wall, and that Night drew the Angle of our Trenches within twenty Yards of the Counterscarp; thirty Volunteers out of a Regiment working very diligently, and had two Shillings a-piece for their pains; several Wooll-sacks being carried down to secure our Men from Shot as they were at work. *Monday Morning* we began to fire from our new Battery, and the Breach in the Wall began to be considerable; which the Enemy seeing, brought abundance of Wooll-sacks to damp the force of our Cannon. This was like *Josephus's* defending his Towns in *Gallilee*, who filled large Sacks full of Chaff, and hung them over the Walls, to defend them from the Battering Rams of the *Romans*; for Cannons were not then invented.

The King sent his Gunners some Drink down to the Batteries, which made them ply their Work very heartily; and for all the Wooll-sacks, the Wall began to fly again; and early that Morning were two Cannon planted about 300 Yards to the right of our Trenches, in order to beat down the Bridge: But we were too late a beginning this Work; the *Irish* seeing what we intended, were very much afraid of the Bridge, and therefore they planted two Guns without the Town, in the *King's-Island*, which plaid upon our Battery, and also flankt their own Counterscarp. You must know, that two or three

Another Bat-
tery.The Breach
appears.

August.

days before this, it had rain'd so violently for nigh twenty four hours together, that the Soldiers were almost up to the Knees in the Trenches. This look'd very ill, and therefore we were obliged to hasten our Work, lest the Rains should force us to desist. That Night therefore a Council of War was held, whether we should make an Attack upon the Counterscarp next day ; and it was deferred till *Wednesday*, because as yet the Breach was not wide enough : Monsieur *Cambon* was for deferring it for two or three days longer, which had been a great happiness if it had ; and yet this could not well be, for our Ammunition began to sink.

Tuesday the 26th, we ply'd the Breach hard all day with nigh twenty Cannon from several Batteries, and in the night saluted the Town after the usual manner, with Fireballs, Bombs, and Carcasses. And on.

Wednesday the 27th, a Breach being made nigh St. John's Gate, over the *Black Battery*, that was about twelve Yards in length, and pretty flat, as it appear'd to us, the King gave Orders that the Counterscarp should be attack'd that Afternoon ; to which purpose a great many Wooll-sacks were carry'd down, and good store of Ammunition, with other things suitable for such a Work. All the Granadeers in the Army were ordered to march down into the Trenches, which they did. Those being above five hundred, were commanded each Company by their respective Captains, and were to make the first Attack, being supported by one Battalion of the *Blue Dutch* on the Right, then Lieutenant General *Douglas*'s Regiment, Brigadeer *Stuart*'s, my *Lord Meath*'s, and my *Lord Lisburn*'s, as also a *Brandenburg* Regiment. These were all posted towards the Breach ; upon the left of whom were Colonel *Cutts* and the *Danes*. Lieutenant-General *Douglas* commanded ; and their Orders were to possess themselves of the Counterscarp, and maintain it. We had also a Body of Horse drawn up, to succour the Foot upon occasion. About half an hour after Three, the Signal being given by firing three Pieces of Cannon, the Granadeers being in the furthest Angle of our Trenches, leapt over, and run towards the Counterscarp, firing their Pieces, and throwing their Granades. This give the Alarm to the *Irish*, who had their Guns all ready, and discharged great and small Shot upon us as fast as 'twas possible : Our Men were not behind them in either ;

The Town
stormed.

August.

ther ; so that in less than in two Minutes the Noise was so terrible, that one would have thought the very Skies ready to rent in sunder. This was seconded with Dust, Smoke, and all the Terrors that the Art of Man could invent, to ruin and undo one another ; and to make it the more uneasy, the Day it self was excessive hot to the By-standers, and much more sure in all respects to those upon action. Captain *Carlile*, of my Lord *Drogheda's* Regiment, run on with his Granadeers to the Counterscarp, and tho' he received two Wounds between that and the Trenches, yet he went forwards, and commanded his Men to throw in their Granades ; but in the leaping into the dry Ditch below the Counterscarp, an *Irishman* below shot him dead. Lieutenant *Barton* however encouraged the Men, and they got upon the Counterscarp, and all the rest of the Granadeers were as ready as they. By this time the *Irish* were throwing down their Arms, and running as fast as they could into Town ; which our Men perceiving, entred the Breach pell-mell with them, and above half the Earl of *Drogheda's* Granadeers, and some others, were actually in Town. The Regiments that were to second the Granadeers went to the Counterscarp, and having no Orders to go any further, there stopt. The *Irish* were all running from the Walls, and quite over the Bridge, into the *English* Town ; but seeing but a few of our Men enter, they were with much ado persuaded to rally ; and those that were in, seeing themselves not followed, and their Ammunition being spent, they designed to retreat ; but some were shot, some taken, and the rest came out again, but very few without being wounded. The *Irish* then ventured upon the Breach again, and from the Walls, and every place, so pester'd us upon the Counterscarp, that after nigh three hours resisting, Bullets, Stones, (broken Bottles, from the very Women, who boldly stood in the Breach, and were nearer our Men than their own) and whatever ways could be thought on to destroy us, our Ammunition being spent, it was judged safest to return to our Trenches. When the Work was at the hottest, the *Brandenburgh* Regiment (who behaved themselves very well) were got upon the *Black Battery*, where the Enemies Powder hapned to take fire, and blew up a great many of them, the Men, Faggots, Stones, and what not, flying into the Air with a most terrible noise. Colonel *Cutts* was commanded

by

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by the Duke of Wyrtemberg to march towards the Spur at the South Gate, and beat in the *Irish* that appeared there; which he did, tho' he lost several of his Men, and was himself wounded: For he went within half Musquet-shot of the Gate, and all his Men open to the Enemies Shot, who lay secure within the Spur and the Walls. The *Danes* were not idle all this while, but fired upon the Enemy with all imaginable fury, and had several kill'd; but the mischief was, we had but one Breach, and all towards the Left it was impossible to get into the Town when the Gates were shut, if there had been no Enemy to oppose us, without a great many Scaling-Ladders, which we had not. From half an hour after Three, till after Seven, there was one continued Fire of both great and small Shot, without any intermission; insomuch that the Smoke that went from the Town reached in one continued Cloud to the top of a Mountain at least six Miles off.

When our Men drew off, some were brought up dead, and some without a Leg; others wanted Arms, and some were blind with Powder: especially a great many of the poor *Brandenburgers* look'd like Furies, with the Misfortune of Gunpowder. One Mr. *Upton* getting in amongst the *Irish* in Town, and seeing no way to escape, went in the Crowd undiscovered, till he came at the Governour, and then surrendred himself. There was a Captain, one *Bedloe*, who deserted the Enemy the day before, and now went upon the Breach, and fought bravely on our side; for which His Majesty gave him a Company.

The King stood nigh *Cromwell's* Fort all the time, and the Business being over, He went to His Camp very much concern'd, as indeed was the whole Army; for you might have seen a mixture of Anger and Sorrow in every bodies Countenance. The *Irish* had two small Field pieces planted in the King's *Island*, which flanckt their own Counterscarp, and in our Attack did us no small damage, as did also two Guns more that they had planted within the Town, opposite to the Beach, and charg'd with Cartridge-shot.

We lost at least Five hundred upon the Spot, and had a thousand more wounded, as I understood by the Surgeons of our Hospitals, who are the properest Judges. The *Irish* lost a great many by our Cannon, and other ways; but it cannot be

be supposed that their Loss should be equal to ours, since it's a much easier thing to defend Walls, than 'tis by plain Strength to force People from them ; and one Man within , has the advantage of four without. Nor possibly may it be amiss to insert the List of the Officers kill'd and wounded at the Attack, in the Five *English* Regiments that were upon Duty, as it was taken exactly next day.

*In Lieutenant General Douglas's Lieut. Barrock.**Regiment.*Lieut. *Cary.*Lieut. *Trenchard.**Wounded.*The *Adjutant.*Sir *Charles Fielding.*Mr. *Hows*, a *Voluntier.*Capt. *Rose*, mortally wounded.

Kill'd.

Capt. *Guy.*Capt. *Hudson.*Capt. *Trevor.*Ensign *Mead.*Capt. *Rose, Junior.**In the Earl of Meath's Regiment.*Capt. *Wainsbrough.*Lieut. *Wild*, mortally wounded.*Wounded.*Lieut. *Wybrants.*The *Earl of Meath.*Lieut. *Lacock.*L. C. *Newcomb*, mort. wounded.Lieut. *Rapine.*Lieut. *Blakeney.*Lieut. *Lloyd.*Lieut. *Hubblethorn.*Ensign *Goodwin.*

Kill'd.

Ensign *Burk.*Lieut. *Latham.*

Kill'd.

Major *Hambleton.*Ensign *Smith.*Lieut. *Ennis.**In Brigadier Stuart's Regiment.*Lieut. *Morison.**Wounded.*Ensign *Tapp.*Brigadier *Stuart*,Ensign *Pinsent.*Major *Cornwall.**In Colonel Cutt's Regiment.**Wounded.*Colonel *Cutt.*Capt. *Pallferey.*Capt. *Newton.*Capt. *Galbretb.*Capt. *Foxon.*Capt. *Stuart.*Capt. *Masham.*Capt. *Casseen.*Lieut. *Levis.*Lieut. *Stuart.*

Kill'd.

August.

	Kill'd.	Kill'd.
Capt. <i>Lindon.</i>		Capt. <i>Holdrich.</i>
Capt. <i>Farlow.</i>		Capt. <i>Hubbatt.</i>
Lieut. <i>Russel.</i>		Lieut. <i>Hilton.</i>
		Lieut. <i>Goodwin.</i>
		Ensign <i>Hook.</i>
<i>In my Lord Lisburn's Regiment.</i>		
	Wounded.	
Major <i>Allen.</i>		Capt. <i>Wallace.</i>
Capt. <i>Adair.</i>		Capt. <i>West.</i>
		Ensign <i>Ogle.</i>

These make in all Fifty nine, whereof Fifteen were killed upon the Spot, and several dyed afterwards of their Wounds ; the Grenadeers are not here included, and they had the hottest Service : Nor are there any of the Forreigners, who lost full as many as the *English* ; so that I'm afraid this did more than countervail the los's that the *Irish* had during the whole Siege, at least in the number of Men.

Next day the King sent a Drummer, in order to a Truce, that the Dead might be buried, but the *Irish* had no mind to it ; and now the Soldiers were in hopes that the King would make a second Attack, and seem'd resolv'd to have the Town or dye every Man. But this was too great a hazard to run at one Place, and they did not know how scarce our Ammunition was, it being very much wasted the day before ; this day however we continued Battering the Wall, and it begun to Rain ; and next day it was very Cloudy all about, and Rain'd very fast ; so that every body began to dread the Consequences of it. The King therefore calls a Council of War, wherein it was Resolv'd to quit the Town and raise the Siege, which as the Case stood then with us, was no doubt the most prudent thing that could be done. We drew off therefore our heavy Cannon from the Batteries by degrees : And on Saturday August the 30th. we marched greatest part of them as far as *Cariganly's*, the Guard being the Earl of *Drogbeda's* and Brigadeer *Stuart's* Regiments. The Rain which had already fallen had softned the ways, and we found some difficulty in getting off our Guns, especially since for the most part we were obliged to draw them with Oxen, a part of our Train Horses being dispoled of to the Enemies use before ; and this was one main Reason for

The Siege Rai-
sed.

Railing

Raising the Siege; for if we had not (granting the Weather to continue bad) we must either have taken the Town, or of necessity have lost our Cannon, because that part of the Country lies very low, and the Ways are deep. Therefore on Sunday the last of *August*, all the Army drew off, (having a good Body of Horse in the Rear:) As soon as the *Irish* perceived we had quitted our Trenches, they took possession of them with great Joy, and were in a small time after over all the Ground whereon we had Encamped; two days before we raised the Siege, a great many Wagons and Carriages were sent towards *Cashel* and *Clonmel*, with sick and wounded Men, which was the Reason that we were forced to leave a great many Bombs, Hand-Granades, and other things behind, which we buried in the Artillery Ground, but with a Train to blow them up; so that when it took Fire, the *Irish* were mightily afraid, and thought we were beginning a new Siege from Under-ground: But yet they dug up most of our dead Officers and Soldiers, only to get their Shirts and Shrowds.

September.
The Army removes.

The Army encamped that day at *Cariganish*, and then the Artillery marched forwards to *Cullen*, whither the Army followed the day after: but as soon as the Protestants that dwelt in that Country, understood that the Army was drawing off, they prepared to march along with Bag and Baggage, which most of them did, and lookt something like the Children of *Israel* with their Cattel, and all their Stuff, footing it from *Egypt*, tho' most of those poor People had no promised Land to retire to, bat were driven into a Wilderness of Confusion; for I saw a great many, both Men and Women, of very good Fashion, who had lived plentifully before, yet now knew not which way to steer their Course, but went along with the Crowd, whither Providence should direct them.

In a day or two after we were remov'd from before *Limerick*, *Monteux* ^{Monteux} ^{the} ^{French} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{City} ^{of} ^{Limerick} ^{the} ^{Irish} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Country} ^{near} ^{Limerick} ^{the} ^{French} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Country} ^{near} ^{Limerick} ^{the} ^{Irish} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Country} ^{near} ^{Limerick} ^{the} ^{French} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Country} ^{near} ^{Limerick} ^{the} ^{Irish} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Country} ^{near} ^{Limerick} ^{the} ^{French} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Country} ^{near} ^{Limerick} ^{the} ^{Irish} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Country} ^{near} ^{Limerick} ^{the} ^{French} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Country} ^{near} ^{Limerick} ^{the} ^{Irish} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Country} ^{near} ^{Limerick} ^{the} ^{French} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Country} ^{near} ^{Limerick} ^{the} ^{Irish} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Country} ^{near} ^{Limerick} ^{the} ^{French} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Country} ^{near} ^{Limerick} ^{the} ^{Irish} ^{Army} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Country} ^{near} ^{Limerick} 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September.
His Majesty
goes for Eng-
land.

Lords Justices
Appointed.

His Majesty, that day we Raised the Siege, went to *Cullen*, and so to *Clonmel*, from thence to *Waterford*, in order to take shipping for *England*, accompanied with the Prince, the Duke of *Ormond*, and several of the Nobility. From *Waterford*, His Majesty sent back the Right Honourable *Henry Lord Viscount Sidney*, and *Tho. Coningsby Esq*; to the Camp; they, with Sir *Charles Porter*, having a Commission to be Lords Justices of *Ireland*: The King set Sail with a fair Wind for *England*, where He was received with an Universal Rejoycing; and the Two Lords Justices on the 4th of *September* came to the Camp, then at *Cullen*, where they stay'd till the 6th; in which two days, they, and the General, Count *Solmes*, ordered all Affairs relating to the Army. And here we received Money, which was very acceptable, for it had been very scarce all the Campagne, both with the Officers and Soldiers, and yet every Body were content, and our Wants were no obstruction to our Duties: as His Majesty was pleased to take Notice afterwards in His Speech to the Parliament. From *Cullen*, we marched on the 6th to *Tipperary*, blowing up a strong Castle when we Decamped, and the Two Lords Justices took their Journy towards *Dublin*, in order to enter upon their Government.

Some that are Men already prejudiced, will pretend to be Judges in this Affair (tho' they never saw the Place or the Country) and affirm, That the *Irish* made never a false step but one, during this whole Siege, and that was, in not Fortifying the Pass, and *Cromwell's* Fort without; as also, in not drawing a large Trench from the River towards the *East*, and then running it round that part of the Town; on which they might have raised several Forts and Breast-works, from whence they might have retarded our Approaches; but indeed they had not time for all this, tho' they had done something of that kind towards the *West*, where they kept Men encamp't all the while we lay before the Town; and they had made also some Forts towards the *East*, but they could not put Courage in their Men to defend them, especially when Walls were so near to fly to.

Objections a-
gainst the Siege
at Limerick

What Objections they make against us were these, That we ought to have divided our Army, and sent a part beyond the River; as also to have broke down the two Bridges, one between the two Towns, and the other on the County of *Clare* side; by which means we had prevented the *Irish* Communication between

between the two Towns, and also from without ; the greatest *September* hazard that we could run, being to attack a Town that had one side open, to bring in what Men and Things they pleas'd. All these, and a great many more Inconveniences were seen into at that Instant ; but the dividing the Army was impracticable, because that when one Part had been over the River, they must have marched several Miles to the Right, and then down again, before they could come nigh the other side of the Town, by reason of a vast Bog that runs from the Town a great way cross the Country, and then it was no easie thing to bring Provision to those : And besides, if the Rains had fallen, (as it often threatned us) that part of the Army which had gone over, must have run the hazard either of starving, or fighting their whole Army, or both ; for the *Shanon* rises all on a sudden, and the least swelling in the World, would have made it impossible for the Army, since it was with great difficulty that single Regiments could get over as it was, and it never has been so low in many years. Nor had we Men enough to make what Works were convenient, to secure both Parts of the Army from Sallies or Assaults from without, if we had been divided. We know *Cæsar* at the Siege of *Alexia*, shut in Eighty thousand *Gauls* ; made a Line of Countervallation of Eleven Miles Circumference, and one of Circumvallation that was Fourteen, fortifying both these with sharp Stakes, and vast Holes in the Ground slightly covered over ; by which he both reduced that great Army within to his Mercy, and kept off a much greater, that design'd to raise the Siege. But his Army were Men of Fatigue and Labour, as well as Courage, and his Numbers six times as great as ours. And tho' we were commanded by a Prince of as great Courage and Resolution as ever *Cæsar* was, and he had Men that were as willing, yet several of them were beginning to be sick, and were not able to endure the Fatigue ; except both our Times had been longer, and the Season better ; and tho' Kings are Gods in Wisdom as well as Power, yet there is one in Heaven that limits them.

September the 7th, Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, with his own *Lieutenant-General Douglas* Regiment, Brigadeer *Stuart*'s, Sir *Henry Balfour*'s, Lord *George Hamilton*'s, a *Derry* Regiment, the Third Troop of Guards, Colonel *Russel*'s Horse, and *Quinn*'s Dragoons, marched from

September. Tipperary towards the North, to Winter-Quarters, and the rest lay encamped.

September the 8th, my Lord *Lisburne*, with a Party of Foot, being about 400, and Monsieur *La Force*, with a Party of 500 Horse, were sent to *Kilmallock*, a Place between *Cork* and *Limerick*, where the Enemy had a Garrison of about 200 Men, who when they saw our Party, and Four Field-Pieces, which they brought along, they yielded upon the first Summons, and had Conditions to march out with their Arms and Baggage.

From the 8th to the 13th, nothing of moment hapned, except the General's sending out several Parties unto all the little Towns and Castles thereabouts, having Engineers along to see what could be done in order to their Defence, on which account Dr. *Davis*, Dean of *Ros*, was very serviceable, who understood the Country thereabouts very well.

And Major General Kirk, with the rest of the English. This took up time till the 13th, when Major General *Kirk*, with Seven Foot Regiments, (viz.) *Kirk*, *Hanmer*, *Meath*, *Curts*, *Lisburne*, *Earle*, and *Drogheda*'s; and Sir *John Lanier*, with his own, Lord of *Oxford*'s, *Langston*'s, *Byerly*'s Horse, *Levison*'s Dragoons, and part of *Cunningham*'s, marched towards *Bir*; which way we heard that *Sarsfield* was making, being then with a Body of about 5000 Horse, Foot and Dragoons, at a place called *Banohar-Bridge*, not Eight Miles from *Bir*. The same day Major General *Scravemore*, and Major General *Tatteau*, with 1200 Horse and Dragoons, as also two Regiments of *Danish* Foot, went towards *Mullor*, in order to go to *Cork*, where we had a Report, that my Lord *Marlborough* designed to land. There were some Deserters also that came from the Enemy, that gave us an Account, that my Lord *Tyrconnel*, Count *Lauzon*, Monsieur *Boislean*, with all the *French* Forces, were gone from *Galloway* towards *France*; for hearing of my Lord *Marlborough*'s Fleet coming abroad, they made more haste than they designed, and so left several of their Men sick at *Galloway*: They brought an excellent Field-Train in the Spring out of *France*, which they took along with them when they returned.

The rest of the Army remove to Cashel.

September the 14th, the rest of the Army removed to *Cashel*, and from thence were dispersed to Quarters; part of the *Danes* and *Dutch* went towards *Waterford*, some to *Crommel*, and others

others staid at *Cashel*: The French went towards the County of *Carlow*: And so the Army was dispersed. Count *Solmes* commanded the Army from His Majesties departure, till the Camp broke up, and then he went to *Dublin*, in order to go for *England*. On the day following a Captain of Colonel *Levison's* Dragoons, with his Troop, routed a Body of *Irish* Rabble that were got together, and a Party of Horse were sent after a Company of *Rapparees* that had kill'd some of our Men as they were a Foraging. Lieutenant-General *Ginkle* was now Commander in chief of the Army, and went towards his Head-Quarters at *Kilkenny*.

At Major-General *Kirk's* coming to *Roscreagh*, he understood that *Sarsfield* and his Party had besieged the Castle at *Bir*, in which was only a Company of Colonel *Tiffin's* Regiment: The Enemy had brought several Pieces of Cannon, one of which was an Eighteen Pounder, with which they did the Castle some damage; but however the Besieged defended it stoutly, and killed them several Men.

Tuesday the 16th, Major-General *Kirk*, and his Foot, marched from *Roscreagh* towards *Bir*, and joined our Horse (who went that way the Night before, commanded by Sir *John Laneir*) some three Miles short of the Town. There we understood that *Sarsfield's* Party in *Bir* was very strong, and Major-General *Kirk* thought it was too great a hazard to engage with those Men he had; so sent an Express to Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, who was then at *Mary-Borough*, some Twenty Miles off. We returned to *Roscreagh* that Night, and next Morning being reinforced with *Douglas's* Horse, we marched forwards towards *Bir* again. The Enemy then had left the Town, and encamped three Miles from it towards the *Shannon*; but their Outguards were within a Mile of *Bir*, and could overlook our Camp. The General sent out all the Grenadiers, who took the shortest way over the Bog, towards the Hill where the Enemy stood; and at the same time sent out a Detachment of Horse, who beat the Enemy off; Thursday the 18th, our Army encamped beyond the Town, and one Lieutenant *Kelty*, of *Levison's* Dragoons, as he was discovering the Enemy with a Party, being surrounded, was taken.

Relieved by
Major General
Kirk.

September.

ken Prisoner : He is since exchanged, and gives us an Account of the Present State of *Limerick*, which is something different from the Publick.

Friday the 19th, the Enemy decamped, and marched to *Banobhar-Bridge*, tho' that Night a Party of their Horse beat in our Out-Guards.

Saturday the 20th, our Army begun some Fortifications in Town, it being only an open place before, and part of them stayed here encamped for Ten or Twelve Days. Some say also, that here was a good opportunity lost, in not falling upon the Enemy in their Retreat towards *Banobhar*; for they marched off in great Confusion : But during our stay here, the Soldiers, either by the bad Example of others, or making the Scarcity of Bread a Pretence, they begun to strip and rob most of the *Irish* that had got Protections ; which made it natural for the *q*, after this, to turn *Rapparees*, and do us all the mischief they could. And it did not stop here ; for there was scarce any distinction made of Papist or Protestant in this Affair.

*Lords Justices
came to Dublin.* Towards the middle of September my Lord *Sidney*, and *Tho. Coningsby* Esq; Lords Justices, came to *Dublin*, and on the 15th they took the usual Oaths of Chief Governors of that Kingdom, before the Commissioners of the Great Seal, with all the accustomed Formalities ; the People by their Bonfires, and other Signs of Joy, expressing their Satisfaction for the restoring of the Civil Government. One of the first things they did, was to consider of the Settlement of the *Militia*, in such hands as might be most for the King's Service, and the Countries Interest ; and in some small time after, gave out Commissions accordingly. The same Day they sent out a Proclamation, to encourage all People to bring in their Goods to the Market at *Dublin*, forbidding any Officers or Soldiers to press such Peoples Horses, which has been a Trick too frequent in that Country. And whereas the *Rapparees* began to be very numerous in several places, the Lords Justices issued out a Proclamation, Requiring all Papists to remain in their respective Parishes, *at least not to go Three Miles farther, and only then to Market.* This bears date the 18th. And because the hardships that the Soldiers had endured, occasioned a great many of them, at the

the breaking up of the Camp, to steal from their Colours, and make the best of their way for England, a Proclamation came out the 19th, Forbidding all Masters of Ships, or Seamen, to transport any Officers or Soldiers, or other Person whatsoever, except known Merchants, and Persons of known Quality, not belonging to the Army, without a Pass from the Lords Justices, or the General of the Army. The Papists on the Frontiers were very angry at us, and gave constant Intelligence to the Enemy of all our Affairs: by which means our Men, in small Numbers, were often surprized and murdered, and several other Inconveniences fell out; so that a Proclamation came out on the 26th, Forbidding all Papists to dwell within Ten Miles of the Frontiers. And another bearing the same Date, Commanding all the Wives, Children, and Dependants of any of the Irish in King James's Army, or of those who had been kill'd, or taken in that Service, to remove beyond the River Shanon by such a Day, or else to be proceeded against as Enemies and Spies. And accordingly most of them went, having a Guard to conduct them to our Frontiers. And a third there was dated that day also, Forbidding any of the protected Irish to harbour any that belonged to the late King's Army, or that robb'd and plundered the Country in the Night. And because Coals were now very scarce at Dublin, and other Firing not coming in so plentifully as formerly, some Days before this, there was a Proclamation published, Promising Protection to all Ships and Mariners that should be employed in transporting Coals from any Part of the Kingdom of England, or Wales, to the City of Dublin. One there came out on the 30th, Forbidding all People to buy any Goods but in open Markets, because several Abuses were committed by the Soldiers, taking Peoples Goods, and selling them at an Undervalue. And on the 7th of October there was another Proclamation, Forbidding any to pretend to be Soldiers in Colonel Foulks, and Colonel Herbert's Regiments, that were not; Those two Regiments being then in Town, and several Abuses committed that way; and some of the Soldiers affronting the Militia, had like one Night to have made a great deal of mischief; upon which the Alarm was beat, and several People wounded, one or two being kill'd out-right.

By this time the Soldiers everywhere had got to Quarters, All the Army in Quarters, and it was proposed by several Justices of the Peace, and De- puty-

September.

puty-Lieutenants in the Country, That if the Soldiers would be quiet, and not take things at their own hands, the Country should find them with Meat and Drink, with whatever else they could reasonably think on. Which was very well liked by some Colonels; but others, for their own Gains-sake, ordered the Country People to bring in most of their Corn to such and such places, and secur'd it for their own private use, allowing the Soldiers in the mean time to do what they would. This made the *Irish* and *English* both plunder at all hands; and if by chance an *Englishman* had any thing left, the *Rapparees* being stript of what they had themselves, were ready to come in the Night, and steal that; by which, things were not in such order as good Men could have wished.

But before I go any farther this way, it will be convenient to look back, and see how Major General *Scravemore*, and his Party went on, and how the business of *Cork* and *Kingsale* was managed.

On the 17th of September, Major General *Scravemore*, and Major General *Tateau*, sent Colonel *Donap* to burn the Bridge of *Mallow*, and to view the Castle; which he did, and brought an Account of a Body of *Rapparees*, to the number of about Three Thousand, that were not far off; upon which they sent out a Party of an Hundred Horse, and Fifty Dragoons, under Major *Fittinkhost*, designing themselves to follow; but he succeeded so well, that he routed the *Irish*, and kill'd near Three Hundred of them, getting a great many Silver-hilted Swords, and some fine Horses amongst the Plunder.

On the 21st of September, the Earl of *Marlborough* came into *Cork* Road with the *English* Fleet, having on Board Brigadeer *Trelawny's*, Lord *Marlborough's* Phusileers, Prince *Ann's* Regiment, Colonel *Hastings*, Colonel *Hales*, Sir *David Collier's*, Colonel *Fitz-Patrick's*, an Hundred of the Duke of *Bolton's*, and Two hundred of the Earl of *Monmouth's*, under Major *Fibster*, my Lord *Torrington's*, and my Lord *Pembroke's* Marine Regiments: and sending an Express to Major General *Scravemore*, and Major General *Tateau*; they marched immediately to join his Lordship.

The 22^d, the Lord *Marlborough*, with his Fleet, entred the Harbor, receiving some Shot as they pass'd, from a Fort of

My Lord Marlborough lands at Cork, joined by Major General Scravemore.

Eight Guns; but sending some Boats a shore, the Enemy were obliged to quit their Battery, and the Guns taken.

The 23d. in the Morning the Army landed, and on the 24th Five or Six Hundred Seamen, and others, of the Marine Regiment, were employed to draw the Cannon along, and to mount them before the Town, which they did with great chearfulness, and the Duke of *Grafton* at the head of them, tho' Two Troops of Dragoons, and a Body of Foot appeared without the Town; but our Men firing some Field-Picces upon them, they retired. That Day the Duke of *Wirtemberg* sent Dean *Davis* to my Lord *Marlborough* and Major General *Scravemore*, to give them an account, that he was marching to joyn them with a Detachment of Four Thousand Foot. There was then a Report that the Duke of *Berwick* designed to raise the Siege, and therefore Major General *Scravemore* sent the Dean back to hasten the Duke's March, and the next day ordered a Party of Horse to go and cover the Duke's Foot. The same Afternoon Major General *Tarreau*, with a Party of a Thousand Men, having drawn down some Cannon to the *Fair Hill*, resolved to attack one or both of the *New Forts*, and *New Shannon Castle*; but no sooner were his Men posted in order to that Desigⁿ, but the Enemy set Fire on the Suburbs between him and them, and having Deserted bo'th the Forts and Castle, retired in haste into the City.

On the 26th the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, with his *Danes*, and a *Detachment of Dutch and French foot*, came and encamped on *Wyrtemberg* the *North*-side the Town.

We now being in possession of *Shannon Castle*, planted our *Guns* there, and played them both into the Fort and Town; *planted at* and Major General *Scravemore*, with his Horse, took up his *Quarters at Cill Abbey*.

The 27th the Enemy having deserted their Works at the *Cat-Fort*, without a blow struck, we were Masters of it, and planted a Battery there, playing our Bombs into the City, and our Guns upon the Fort, from the *Friars-Garden*, and another Battery above the Fort, near the *Abby*. There was also a Church in our possession, into the Steeple of which Major Generall *Scravemore* sent Lieutenant *Townsend* with a Party (laying Boards cross the Beams for them to stand upon), who did good Service in galling the *Irish* within the Fort. Another

September. Battery of Three Thirty Six Pounders was made by *Red Abby*, which playing against the City-Wall, made a Breach; whereupon they came to a Treaty, whereon a Truce was granted till next Morning.

The 28th, the Enemy not accepting the Conditions that were proposed, our Cannon began to play very furiously, which made a considerable Breach; and when the Enemy began to appear on the Wall near it, they were raked off by our small Ordinance from the *Cat*. Last Night a Captain Lieutenant and Forty Men, were posted in the *Brick-Yard*, near *Cill Abby*, to hinder the Enemy from making their Escape that way through the Marsh: and accordingly some attempting it about Midnight, Captain *Swiny*, and Four more were kill'd and Captain *Makertey* taken, (being wounded,) and the rest forced to retire to the City again. About One a Clock that Afternoon, the *Danes* from the *North*, and Four Regiments of *English* from the *South*, under Brigadeer *Churchil*, passed the River into the *East-Marsh*, in order to storm the Breach that was made their in the City-Wall. They passed the Water up to the *Arm-pits*: the *Granadeers* under my Lord *Colchester* led the Van, and marched towards, exposed to all the Enemies Fire: There went on Volunteers with this Detachment, the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *O Brian*, Colonel *Granvill*, and a great many more. Immediately the Van posted themselves under the Bank of the Marsh, (which seem'd to be a Countescarp to the City-wall,) in which Approach the Duke of *Grafton* received a mortall Wound on the point of his Shoulder. The *Salamander* also and another Vessel which, came up the Morning-Tide, lay at the Marsh-end, directly before the Wall playing their Cannon at the Breach, as likewise throwing Bombs, into the City. In the midst of which Purther my Lord *Tyron*, and Lieutenant Colone) *Bycatt* came out, (having beat a Parley before) and made Articles for its Surrender; which were these:

I. That the *Garrison* should be received Prisoners of War, and there should be no prejudice done to the Officers, Soldiers, or Inhabitants.

II. That the General would use his endeavour to obtain His Majesties Clemency towards them.

III. That

*The Garrison
surrend'red.*

III. That they should deliver up the Old Fort within an hour, and the Two Gates of the City the next Day at Eight in the Morning.

IV. That all the Protestants that are in Prison, shall be forthwith released.

V. That all the Arms of the Garrison, and Inhabitants, should be put into a secure place. And

VI. That an exact Account should be given of the Magazines, as well Provision as Ammunition.

In the Evening the Fort was surrendered, and the Protestant Prisoners set at Liberty:

On the 29th in the Morning, many Seamen, and other loose persons, entered into the City through the Breach, and other places, and plundered many Houses, especially of Papists. But as soon as the Bridge could be mended, the Earl of Marlborough, Duke of Wurtemberg, and Maj. Gen. Scraevemore entered, and took much pains to save the City from further Damage. In the Afternoon all Papists were ordered by Proclamation, on pain of Death to deliver up their Arms, and repair to the East Marsh, where all that had been in Arms were secured, and put under Guards, the Officers in the County Court House, amongst whom were the Earls of Clancarty and Tyrone, Colonel Mark Elicat the Gouvernour, Lieutenant Colonel Rycat, &c. the rest, to the number of between Four and Five Thousand, were secured in other places.

The County of Cork was formerly a Kingdom, and is the most fertile County in Ireland: This Kingdom was granted in the Time of Henry the second, to Sir Robert Fitz Stephen, and Sir Miles de Cogan, in these Words, *Know ye that I have granted the whole Kingdom of Cork (excepting the City and Cantred of the Ostmanns) to hold for them and their Heirs, of Me, and John My Son, by the Service of Sixty Knights.* At Cork was born one Brirk, a Famous Saint in the Days of Old.

The same Afternoon a Party of about Five hundred Horse were sent under Brigadier Villers to infest Kingsale; he sent a Trumpeter at his Approach to summon the Town, but the Governor threatened to hang him up for bringing such a Message, and then set fire to the Town, and retreated to the Old Fort;

The Number of
the Prisoners.

September. which our Horse seeing, rid in, and quenched the Fire, killing seven or eight of the *Irish* that they found in Town.

On the 30th a Party of our Foot marched to *Five-Mile-House* towards *Kingsale*, and the Magistrates of *Cork* reassembling their Places, Proclaim'd King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and put the Place into some order.

On the First of *October* the Earl of *Marlborough* marched out *Cork* to *Five-Mile Bridge*, and the next day came near the *Old Fort*, then in possession of our own Men: Towards the Evening the Lord *Marlborough* posted his Men towards the *New Fort*; and Major General *Tettenau*, with 800 Men, the next morning early passed the River in Boats, & stormed the *Old Fort*; in which he succeeded very well. Several Barrels of Powder at the same time accidentally taking fire, blew up nigh Forty of the *Enemy*; the rest flying into an old Castle in the midst of the Fort, were a great many of them kill'd before they got thither, and all that made resistance, as we scaled the walls were cut in pieces: So that of 450 Men in this Fort, about 200 were blown up and kill'd, and the rest submitting to Mercy, were made Prisoners. Some endeavoured to escape to the *New Fort* by Water, but were most of them kill'd from the Shore. The Governor and several Officers that would have prevented our Men from coming over, were killed upon the *Ramparts*.

My Lord *Marlborough* having gained this Fort, resolves to make as quick work as he could with the *New one*; for the Weather was now very bad, and Provisions were growing scarce; and withal, his Men began to fall sick, which made him judge it was the best way to attack the Place briskly, in which he was like to lose fewer Men, then if by lying long before it he should have it surrendered: He sends a Summons however to the Governor to surrender, who return'd him an answer, *That it would be time enough to talk of that a Month hence* Whereupon the Cannon being planted, we began to batter the Fort in two Places, the *Danes* on the Left, and the *English* on the Right. On the Fifth of *October* the Trenches were opened, and on the Ninth we were got nigh the Counterscarp. On the Twelfth in the Morning Six Pieces of Cannon were mounted at the *Danes* Attack, and Two Mortars at the *English*, which fired all day, and the Mortars continued all Night. On the Thirteenth

The Old Fort taken.

The New one besieged.

Batteries rais'd

Thirteenth TwoGuns of Twenty four pound Ball were planted on the English Battery, and on the Fourteenth Three more; for the Danes on their side had made a pretty large Breach. We then sprung a Mine with very good succels, and were preparing to spring another; and being Masters of the Counter-scarp, on the Fifteenth the Cannon plaid all the Morning, and every thing was ready to lay our Galleries over the Ditch: But at one a Clock the Enemy beat a Parly, and desired a Treaty about the Surrendry of the Fort; which being done, the Articles were agreed to and signed, by which the middle Bastion was to be delivered up next Morning, and the Garrison (being about 1200 Men) to march out the day after, with their Arms and Baggage, and be conducted to Limerick. We had kill'd and wounded in our several Attacks about 200; but a great many more were sick and dead by reason, of bad Weather. In this Fort we received a very considerable Magazine, and great plenty of all sorts of Provisions, sufficient to have supported a thousand Men for a Year; there were 1000 Barrels of Wheat, 1000 Barrels of Beef, Forty Tuns of Claret, a great quantity of Sack, Brandy, and strong Beer. My Lord Marlborough did a considerable piece of Service in reducing those Places, which will be of great advantage to the next Campagn.

(In October, 1601. Don John a' Aquila landed at Kingsale from Spain, with an Army to assist the Irish against Queen Elizabeth: calling himself Master General and Captain of the Catholick King in the War of God, for holding and keeping the Faith in Ireland: But by the Courage and Industry of Sir Charles Blunt Baron Mountjoy, then Lord Deputy, the Irish were defeated, and the Spaniards forced to go home upon dishonorable Terms.)

But to return again to Dublin, and the Affairs of that part of the Kingdom. On the 18th of October the Blue Dutch Guards set sail for England, and a day or two afterwards landed Colonel Mathew's Dragoons and Count Schonberg's Horse from thence. And now after the taking of Cork and Kingsale, part of the Irish Army that was in Kerry made several Incursions, and burnt all the Towns and Villages of the Counties of Cork, and Limerick, that had hitherto escap'd. My Lord Duke of Berwick dined in Charleville-house, one of the Second-rate Houses of these Kingdoms, built by the late Earl of Orrery, and

The Fort surrendered.

October.

and after Dinner order'd it to be fir'd, and staid to see it in Ashes. And those of the *Irish* Army that lay between *Limerick* and *Athlone*, burnt *Balliboy*, wherein were Six Companies of my Lord *Droheda*'s Regiment : The thing was thus. Lieut. Col. *Bristow* was at the Breaking up of the Camp at *Birr* ordered to *Kilkormack* Castle, a considerable Pass, and within Two Miles of *Balliboy*; but he liking *Balliboy* better, as a place of more Forrage and Shelter for the Men, quitted the other, and took most of his Men into that open Village; which the *Irish* having notice of, came in the night, and lay in the Hedges nigh the Town. Our Men had heard of the designed Attempt the day before, and desired Colonel *Bristow* to deliver out Ammunition; but he apprehending no danger, took no care to prepare for such a Mischief : However, our Men sate upon all that night, and sent out a Lieutenant, with Twenty Men mounted, to learn Tidings of the Enemy, who returned without discovering any, for they were all this while close in the Hedges. After *Revallia*, the Officers and Soldiers, thinking all safe, went to their Lodgings, all but the ordinary Guard : They had not been dispersed half an hour, till the *Irish* set both ends of the Town on fire. The Officers and Soldiers made what haste they could to a Mount towards the middle of the Town, where they staid till a Party of Dragoons came from *Birr* to their Relief; for the *Irish* after some small time drew off, and would not adventure to force them from the Mount, tho' they were four times our number. We had about Twenty eight kill'd, and some wounded : And Captain *Henry Gore*, as he was going towards the Mount, had a Rencounter with some of the *Irish* Granadeers, in which with Club-Musket he had his Jaw-bone broke, and several Wounds on the Head; but he is since recover'd. We kill'd several of the Enemy, both in the Streets, and in the Houses that they went to plunder.

The 21th. some of the *Rapparees* march'd towards *Philipstown* in the *King's County*. A Party of ours going out to discover them, took two of their Officers and hanged them. And the 23^d. being the Anniversary of the former *Irish* Rebellion, was kept with great Solemnity; a Proclamation being issued out the day before, commanding the Sixteenth of *November* to be kept as a day of Thanksgiving, for preserving the *King*, and

and reduced three intire Provinces : Which accordingly was October.

On the 28th. there came an Account from Meerscourt in the County of West-Meath, that part of the Enemies Forces advanced from Lanesbrough in the County of Longford, and came within six Miles of Meerscourt, but retreated without any harm done to either side. If I am not much mistaken, when we left Limerick, it was our Businels (and Advice was given accordingly) to secure all the Passes upon the *Shanon*; which had been easie at that time, our Army being together, and in the field; for these, and the Castles all along by the *Shanon* side, might easily have been made tenable, where our Men might have been secure, and had a very plentiful Country at their Backs for their Relief; and then might have made Incursions into Connaught when they pleased : But in stead of that, we retired further into the Country, and left them all the Passes and Forts upon the *Shanon*; by which means they are not to be kept in their own Province, as they might have been, but can both keep us out, and also come amongst us when they have a mind to it.

About this time the Enemy gave leave to several *Protestants* ^{Several Pro} to come off, who gave account, that all things were very ^{stants come} scarce amongst them, Wheat being generally about Ten pound ^{from Lime-} ^{rick.} (Brass Money) a Barrel; Malt, Nine pound; Brandy, Three pound a Quart; Ale Two Silling six pence; Mens Shoes, Thirty shillings; Salt, Twenty Shillings a Quart: And that the Irish Army were in a very miserable conditon in all respects. And yet it was not so bad as it 'twas reported. This Week the Lords Justices had an Account, that one Captain *Long*, formerly Master of a Ship, was in February last surprised in the Bay of Killibeggs in the North of Ireland, and taken Prisoner to Galloway; but whilst he was there he so ordered the Master, as with the help of some *Protestants* he seized upon a Friggar, and brought her from Galloway to Carickfergus: She had of from Gal- loway. A Ship brought of November, a French Ship of thirty Tuns, loaden with Brandy and Salt, sailed into the Port of Kingsale, coming to an Anchor under the New Fort, believing that Place still to be in the Hands of the Irish: but the Ship was soon boarded by our Men, and made a Prize.

November.
His Majesties Birth-day
Dublin Militia.

The Fourth of November, being His Majesties Birth-day, was observed with all the Splendour that Place could afford, all the Town Militia were drawn out, being 2500 Foot, two Troops of Horse, and two of Dragoons, all well Cloathed and Armed; and at night the Lords Justices made an Entertainment for the most Considerable Persons in and about the Town: The next day also being the Fifth of November, was observed according to the Act of Parliament. By this time Commissions being given out for Lords Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants; as also for Officers of the Militia in the Country, they had got Arms, and were in a pretty good Condition. And on the First day of the Term, Mr. Sergeant Osbourn, Their Majesties Serjeant at Law, moved the Court of King's Bench, for Writs of *Certiorari*, to remove all his Indictments of High Treason, found in several Counties of this Kingdom, against those in Rebellion against the King and Queen, which was granted, and Writs Issued out accordingly? Proposals were made also by the Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates, to set Leases for a year of all Lands that are Forfeited in this Kingdom, but I did not hear of many Tenants; for amongst other things there Proposed, the Farmer must give in an Exact Account of the Acres both Arable and Pasture, of the Farm he designs to take contains; and if upon view it appears to be more, then to pay 28 s. for every Acre of Arable, and 5 s. for every Acre of Pasture that was over-plus; this indeed is a good way to get an Account of all the Lands, but not to make any Benefit to the King of them, for I'm afraid several Acres will not yield 20 s. in many years.

An Exploit of Captain Archer's.

One Tuesday the 13th. of November, Captain Archer, one of the Militia, had a scuffle with the Papares in the County of Wicklow, kill'd about Five, and took Twenty three Prisoners, with the lose of Five or six of his own Men; and about this time the Enemy burnt Philip's Town (the chief Town in the King's County; so called from King Philip, as Mary Borough is from Queen Mary; for in this Reign those two Counties were settled, and part of them given to Thomas Ruttell Earl of Sussex) though we had a Garrison in it; for they came from a great adjacent Bog in the Night, and having set the Town on Fire, retreated thither again. At this time Lieutenant General Ginkel, who Commands in Chief over His Majesties Forces in Ireland, came

The General comes to Dublin.

came to *Dublin*, and on the Thirteenth Published several Orders and Rules, how the Army should be subsisted, and the Country paid and secured, which are too long to insert, but very commendable if they had been observed. And the General and Lords Justices consulting together, the Justices send out a Proclamation the Fourteenth, for regulating the Quartering the Army, and ascertaining the Rates of things; as what should be paid by each Soldier for all sorts of Provisions, and Confirming the General's Orders Published the day before. We had News brought from *Limerick*, by a Lieutenant that deserted, of several Inconveniences the Enemy were put to, but these were only true in part: there was a Report also, that a supply of Arms, Ammunition, and Money was come from *France*, and this was true in some respect; for at that time there was a Ship with Arms, Ammunition, and some Provisions on Board, with about Sixty Officers design'd for *Limerick*, but cast away in that River, and all the Men lost.

The Rapparees all this while were very busie about *Cashel* and *Longford*, and did a great deal of mischief: this occasioned some of our Army to joyn part of the Militia, who went towards *Cullen* and burnt the Corn, bringing away a good Booty without any opposition.

The Fifteenth of November Colonel *Byerley*'s Horse marched from *Dublin* to *Mount Nalick*, a Village towards the Frontiers; and on the 19th. the Lords Justices Publish a Proclamation, Declaring, That if any of their Majesties Protestant Subjects had their Houses or Haggards burnt; or were Robb'd or Plunder'd by the Rapparees, such Losses should be repaid by the Popish Inhabitants of that County. And in regard the Popish Priests had great Influence over their Votaries, it was ordered, That if any Rapparees exceeding the Number of Ten were seen in a Body, no Popish Priest should have liberty to reside in such a County. And it was further declared, That the Government would not give Protection to any Person that had a Son in the Enemies Quarters, unless such Son return to Their Majesties Obedience, before the Tenth of December next following. And in regard at this time the Government was apprehensive of some danger nigh *Dublin* it self, they Publish a Proclamation the 22d, That all Papists, who have not been noted House-keepers in the City of *Dublin* for three Months last past, were

November.

Within Forty eight Hours to depart, at least Ten Miles from the City, or else to be proceeded against as Spies ; and that not above Five Papists should meet together upon any Pretext whatever.

About the 24th. there was great talk of a Design discovered to the Lords Justices, of sending a Supply, of Meal, Salt, Tobacco, Brandy, and several other things, from *Dublin* to the Enemies Quarters. Those who were carrying these things were pursued, and overtaken in the County of *Kildare*, upon a By-Road : they all made their escapes however ; but one of them being a Woman, dropt a Petticoat, in which was found a Letter and also another in a Rowl of Tobacco, which gave grounds to believe, that a Correspondence was kept between the Papists in *Dublin* and the Enemy beyond the *Shanon* ; and therefore on Sunday Night the 30th. of November a general search was made through the City, and most of the Papists secured. This Piece of Service the Militia performed very dextrously, without noise or suspicion, till the thing was done.

The last Packquets from *England*, brought a List of the Privy Council, appointed by His Majesty for the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as also of several of the Judges : The Council were, The Lord Primate, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Archbishop of *Dublin*, Duke of *Ormond*, Earl of *Meath*, Earl of *Drogheda*, Earl of *Longford*, Earl of *Renelab*, Earl of *Granard*, Viscount *Lisburn*, Bishop of *Meath*, Robert *Fitz-Gerald* Esq; the Vice Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Master of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Master of Ordnance, Sir *Henry Fane*, Sir *Charles Merideth*, *William Hill* of *Hillsborough* Esquire. On Monday the First of December, several of the said Persons attended the Lords Justices at the Council Chamber, and there took the usual Oaths of Privy Councillors. The Judges named for the Respective Courts in *Dublin* were, Sir *Richard Reynoll*, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir *Richard Stephens*, one of the Justices of the same Court, Mr. Justice *Lindon* being formerly sworn there : In the Common Pleas, Mr. Justice *Jetfordson*, Mr. Justice *Cox* being formerly sworn there : In the Exchequer, *Jo. Healy* Esq; Lord Chief Baron, and Sir *Standish Hartstone* one of the Barons of the Court, Mr. Baron *Ecklin* being formerly

merly

merly sworn there. This day we had News of the Enemies passing the *Shanon* at several Places, and Orders were sent to our Frontiers to be in readiness ; and Colonel *Gustavus Hamilton* sent a Party from *Birr* towards *Portumna*, who met with a Party of the Enemy, which they routed, killing some, and brought off two Officers, with Eleven Prisoners being Dragoons and Foot.

December the 2d. A Proclamation was issued out by the Lords Justices and Council, forbidding all Their Majesties Subjects of *Ireland*, to use any Trade with *France*, or to hold any Correspondence or Communication with the *French* King or his Subjects : This was the first that was Signed by the Council, and these were present, viz. *Fra. Dublin, Drogheda, Longford, Granard, Lisburn, Robert Fitz-Gerald, Anth. Meath, Charles Merideth.*

We had at that time an Account from *Cork*, that on the 22d. of November last there were 60 of our Horse and Foot, who met with near Five hundred of the Rapparees, in the Barony of *West Carberry* near *Castlehaven*; our Men at that disadvantage Retreated towards *Castlehaven*, the Enemy followed in the Rear, and fired at a distance several times, our Party facing about killed Nine ; and afterwards being Attackt again, they killed one *Brown* an Ensign of the Enemies. The Enemy next day Besieged *Castletown*, an House near *Castlehaven*; they were *Castletown Besieged.* Commanded by *O Donavan, O Driscoll*, and one *Barry* : As they approached the House, our Men killed Twelve of them ; this put them into an humour of Retreating, though one Captain *Mockronine* with his Sword drawn endeavoured to hinder them ; but he and some more of the Party being kill d, the rest got away as well as they could. Several of them had Bundles of Straw fastned upon their Breasts instead of Armor ; but this was not Proof, for about Thirty of them were killed upon the Spot, amongst whom were young Colonel *O Driscoll*, Captain *Tiege O Donavan*, besides several that went off Wounded ; we loss only two Men.

At this time Colonel *Byerley* being at *Mountmellick* with part of his own Regiment, and some of Colonel *Ea l's* Foot, he was frequently Alarum'd ; as well by Parties of the *Irish* Army, as by Considerable Numbers of the Rapparees, who had a design to burn the Town, as they had done several others thereabouts ;

December.

but the Colonel was very watchful, and kept good Intelligence (a main Matter in this Affair.) He was told of a Party that designed to burn the Town ; and he took care to have all his Men, both Horse and Foot, in readiness to welcome them ; but they heard of his Posture and durst not venture ; however on the Third of December he had notice of a Body of Rapparees, that were not far from the Town, and designed him a mischief ; he sends out Lieutenant Dent with Twenty Horse, and ordered each Horseman to take a Musqueteer behind him ; when the Horse came almost within sight of the Rapparees, they dropt their Foot, who marched closely behind the Hedges unperceived by the Enemy. When the Enemy espied so small a Party of Horse, they Advanced from the side of the Bog towards them ; the Horse seem'd to Retreat a little, till the Rapparees were Advanced within Musquet-shot of our Foot, who firing amongst them, kill'd several, and then Lieutenant Dent fell in with his Horse ; as also the Foot Charged them a second time, that after some resistance they kill'd Thirty nine, and took Four, whom they hanged without any further Ceremony. The rest escaped to the Bogs, and in a moment all disappeared ; which may seem strange to those that have not seen it, but something of this kind I have seen my self, and those of this Party assur'd me, that after the Action was over, some of them looking about amongst the Dead, found one *Dun* a Serjeant of the Enemies, who was lying like an Otter, all under Water in a running Brook, (except the top of his Nose and his Mouth,) they brought him out, and although he proffer'd Forty Shillings in English Money to save his Life (a great Ransom as he believed) yet he was one of the Four that was hang'd.

How the Rapparees conceal themselves and their Arms.

When the Rapparees have no mind to show themselves upon the Bogs, they commonly sink down between two or three little Hills, grown over with long Grass, so that you may as soon find a Hare, as one of them : they conceal their Arms thus, they take off the Lock, and put it in their Pocket, or hide it in some dry Place ; they stop the Musket close with a Cork, and the Touch-hole with a small Quill, and then throw the Piece it self into a running Water or a Pond ; you may see an hundred of them without Arms, who look like the poorest humblest Slaves in the World, and you may search till you are weary before you find one Gun : but yet when they have a mind

mind to do mischief, they can all be ready in an Hours warning, for every one knows where to go and fetch his own Arms, though you do not.

About this time the Lords Justices Ordered four Long Boats, like Men of Wars Pinaces, to be fitted up with Patterero's and little small Guns, the sides to be fortified with Boards and other Materials, and those to be filled with a hundred Choice Men, commanded by Captain *Hood*, who had been Provoft Martial, but turned out for some Irregular things, and was resolved to do some desperate Service to be re-admitted. These Boats were to be drawn upon Carriages to the *Shanon*, and there put in; the Design was very plausible, and might have done Service if pursued; for there are several Islands in the *Shanon*, wherin the *Irish* have very considerable Riches; and besides, *Hood* and his Men designed to make Incursions into the Enemies Country, and to burn and destroy all before them; if a small Party appear'd, then they would fight them, but if a great Body, then they could retreat to their Fleet, and go away to another Place: And further, one design of those Boats, was to carry over a part of our Army (at least their Necessaries) that shortly designed on Expedition beyond the *Shanon*; but the Boats were stopt beyond *Mullingar*, and ordered to go no further.

Nigh this time, one *Kirowen*, an *Irish* Officer, came from *Athlone* to *Mullingar*, he pretended to be a Deserter, and told a fair Story; but next day a Protestant that made his escape, gave an Account, that he was a Spy, and had some bad Designs; upon which being examined and searched, he had on a Pair of Breeches, made of the Petticoat of a Gentlewoman whom he had murdered, and upon strict examination of his Boy and others, it appear'd, that he was sent on purpose to burn the Garison, so was the *Saturday* following hanged for his pains. There was also a Discourse, as if the Papists had a design to burn *Dublin* when the *Irish* Army was to approach, which they expected every day: this was discovered by a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel *Woogan*'s Lady to him in *Limerick*: the Letter was intercepted, and gave an Account, that the Protestant Papists were ready to join with the *Irish* Army in doing us what mischief they could; upon which most of them were secured (as I have said) but however those of them that would take the Oath

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of Allegiance to K. W. and Q. M. were released (but the refusers kept in Prison,) yet were Ordered by a Proclamation from the Lords Justices and Council December the Eight, to obey the former Orders, in removing from *Dublin*, and all their Majesties Garisons on the Frontiers. And several of the Papists who had Sons in the Enemies Quarters, having made Application to the Lords Justices, for further time to bring them in, pursuant to a Proclamation November the 19th. they set out another December the 8th. allowing them time till the Tenth of January; but for all this, I heard of very few that came over. Another Proclamation was Dated the same day, Ordering all the Laws in that Kingdom, for the Restraining the Exportation of Wooll, to be put in Execution, except to *England* and *Wales* only, and this with Licence after the usual manner.

We had an Account from *Clonmel*, that Captain *Archer*, with a Militia Troop, met with a Party of the *Irish*, kill'd Twenty five, and took a Booty of Three hunder'd Cows, with several other things. And Colonel *Woolsey* sent word, that what Provisions and Ammunition were sent to the *North*, were safely arrived, his Men having kill'd Eight of the *Irish* the day before, and hang'd Three Spies. And about the middle of December, we had News from *Limerick* by a Deserter, that all things were very scarce, the Soldiers wanting both Meat and Cloaths. But Lieutenant *Kelly*, who was taken Prisoner at *Birr*, and now released, says the *Irish* are not in so very bad a Condition, because they have got nigh Ten thousand Horse-load of Corn out of the County of *Kerry* this Winter, which possible we might as well have had as they, if we had been as diligent.

Nigh this time one *Mack Finin*, one of the Prisoners that escaped from *Cork* (as they say a great many did by sinister means) marched with a Party of about 400 of the Army and Rapparees towards *Iniskeen* in the County of *Cork*, and finding it guarded, they went to *Castletown*, where there was a Lieutenant and Thirty Dragoons; they defended the Place bravely for some time, killing Ten of the Enemy, but their Ammunition being spent, and having Five of their Men kill'd, they were forced to surrender upon Quarter, but the Lieutenant was afterwards murdered, though a Party coming from *Iniskeen* from Major *Culliford*, set upon the *Irish*, kill'd Twelve, and took Five Prisoners.

The Lords Justices and Council now fearing, that in those Houses where there dwelt Papists, if any publick Trade was kept, as to the selling of Ale, Wine, Coffee, &c. they might be Plotting and Contriving Mischief; therefore they Publish a Proclamation, December the 12th. That no Papist shall keep a Publick House in or about the City of Dublin, after the 25th. of December next. And now His Majesty designing for Holland, and having thoughts of making my Lord *Sidney* one of the Secretaries of State, sent for him over, who on Monday the 15th. of December Embarqued with a Fair Wind for *Chester*, leaving every one sorry for his departure, in that by his Affable and Courteous Demeanour, and Diligence in His Majesties Service, he had gain'd the Hearts of all People. And on the 24th. Sir *Charles Porter*, one of the Lords Justices came from *England*, who on the 29th. was sworn Lord Chancellor, receiving the Purse and Great Seal from the late Commissioners.

We had now a part of our Army on their March towards *Lanesborough-Pass*, Commanded by Major General *Kirk* and Sir *John Laneir*; the Foot were my Lord *Lisburn*'s Regiment, my Lord *George Hambleton*'s, part of Col. *Brewer*'s, some of Major General *Kirk*'s, and several other: A Party of the *Militia* also were ordered from *Dublin*, and those in the Country were to be up on all hands. At the same time Lieutenant General *Douglas* was to march towards *Sligo*, and fall upon the *Irish* on that side.

Part of the
Army march to
Lanesborough.

On Wednesday, the 31st December, part of our Army under Colonel *Brewer*, went towards *Lanesborough*: The Enemy appeared on the Bog on this side the Town, being, as they say, nigh Three Thousand, and had cut several Trenches cross the Causeys that go through the Bog towards the Town; these they disputed for some time, but losing some of their Men, they retired into Town, and from thence to beyond the *Shanon*, defacing the Fort on this side, and breaking the Bridge behind them: (You'l say they were not very closely pursued that had time to do all this.) However, our Men took possession of the Town and Fort, as they had left it; and if we had had the Boats, we might have gone over, the Enemy quitting the other side for at least Three Days; but then we were too small a Party: and before the rest of our Men came up, Three Regiments of the *Irish* were posted on the other

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other side the River ; and then little hapned of moment, only some small Firings, and sometimes they made Truces, Colonel Clifford, and the other Irish Officers drinking Healths over to our Men, and those on our side returning the Complement.

When this Party marched to Lanesborough, there was a Detachment of 300 Men out of L. Dr. gheda's, Sir Jo. Hanmer's, and Col. Hambleton's Regiments, ordered from Bir to joyn them ; and so to cross the Country from Bir to Mallingar : But in their March they were set upon by about Fifteen Hundred of the Irish Army, and Rapparees : Our Party had but Thirty Dragoons with them, and the Enemy brought several Squadrons of Horse ; and though we were attack'd for at least five Hours together, and that at several places of great disadvantage, yet they fought their way through, and went that Night to Mountmelick, having lost only Six Men, and Captain Jeffreys, of Sir John Hanmer's Regiment : but the Irish got all our Baggage. This Party was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Bristow, and Major Caulfield.

Rapparees in the Bog of Allen. The Rapparees by this time were get to the end of the Bog of Allen, about Twelve Miles from Dublin (this Bog is the largest in Ireland ; for it reaches through a great part of the Country, from hence as far as Athlone, and is at least Forty Miles in length, having several Islands full of Woods in the midst of it :) These robb'd and plundered the Country all about ; for they had an Island on this end of the Bog, which they fortified, coming out in the Night ; and doing all the Mischief they could. This being so nigh Dublin, it made a great noise ; so that Colonel Fouks, with his own Regiment, part of Colonel Cutts's, and some of the Militia, marched out towards them ; and coming near them in the Night, at a place called Trougher Greggs, at the entrance of the Bog of Allen ; he stay'd there till it was light, and then advanced upon the Causey, (having three Field-Pieces along with him.) The Irish at first seem'd to defend the Place, but as we went forwards, they quitted their Posts, leaving our Men to fill up the Trenches they had made cross the Causey, (being Twelve in number.) Colonel Fouks marched his Horse over, and so went to the Island of Allen, where he found Lieutenant Colonel Piper, who had pass'd thither on the other side at the same rate : The Irish betook them-

Defeated by Col. Fouks.

themselves to the Woods, and we only got soime little things they had left. It's thought they had a Thousand Foot thereabouts, besides some Horse, though most of them had made this Disturbance at this place, were only Two Hundred Boys, with an old *Tory* their Commander.

And now the Lords Justices, and Council, issue out Two more Proclamations, one forbidding all Persons whatsoever, except the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Sheriffs of Dublin, to administer the Oath, or give Certificates to the Papists: Because some took upon them, for Money, to certifie they had sworn when they did not, or else gave them the Oath without the word *Allegiance*, as did Sir *Humphrey Jarvace*, who was imprisoned, and fined Three Hundred Marks for it afterwards. The other Proclamation required all that had bought any of the Train Horses, or Vessells, to bring them in by such a Day: For the Carters and Waggoners were very careless, and either sold the Horses, or suffered them to be stole.

About the time that Lieutenant General *Douglas*, and Major General *Kirk*, marched from the *North* and *South*, Major General *Tetteau* marched also in the *West* towards the County of *Kerry*; and if they all had pusht forwards at one time, it had been a great advantage to our Affairs next Campaign: All things seem'd to favour the Attempt, especially the Weather, better never being seen for the Season. Major General *Tetteau* marched from *Cork* Decemb. 28. and on the 29th was joyned by Brigadier *Churchill*, Sir *David Collier*, Colonel *Coy*, and a part of Colonel *Matthews*'s Dragoons; and the day following they marched through the Country, which the *Irish* had for the most part burnt, after they had carried away whatever they could.

On *New-Years-Day* our Men attackt a Fort at a place called *Sronclard*, which was intended to hinder their passage that way: We took it in Two Hours, though it's said, the Enemy employ'd 500 Men for Two Months to build it. (This shew'd their Diligence, though not their Courage; these Two Virtues are sometimes divided between us and them, but not always both on either side.) Near *Brewster's Field* we discovered some of the Enemies Scouts; whereupon Seventy of *Eppinger's* Dragoons, and Colonel *Coy*'s Horse having the Advance-Guard, came near a Party of the Enemy of One Hundred

Who were admitted to administer the Oath, and why

Maj. Gen. Tetteau marches from Cork with a part of the Army.

January.

and Sixty: These were mounted upon small Horses, and retreated, as did also their main Body, burning the Country. Our Men then went toward Ross, wherein the Enemy had a Garrison of Six Hundred Men, commanded by Colonel *MacCarthy*: we did not think fit to attack the Town, but went towards a Fort near it, which we attacked with Fifty *Danes*, and Fifty of the *Kingsale Militia*: We carried the Fort, in which were Seventy Seven Men, of whom Fourteen swam towards a Rock, Five were taken, and the rest killed; Captain *Baenborg*, and Captain *Caroll*, the Commanders were both wounded, the former with a *Granade*, and the other shot through the Leg. From thence we marched towards *Tralee*, which the Enemy deserted, having therein Twenty One Troops of Dragoons, and Seven of Horse, Commanded by Colonel *Shelton*. The Enemy were much alarm'd on this side, and if they had been prested home on the other side it had been much for our Interest. But I heard of nothing further remarkable at *Lanesborough*, except of one Captain *Edgworth*'s defending a Pals with One Hundred Men against a much greater Body of the *Irish*; and after our Men had laid there in the Cold a Fortnight, they were ordered back, being much harassed with Cold and Hunger. The Boats were never brought to the River; and Lieutenant General *Douglas* went as far as *James-Town*, and then retired again into the *North*, without doing any thing remarkable. This indeed is to be said for both sides, That suppose our Men had passed the River at *Lanesborough*, they must have gone Three Miles forwards before they could have seen any thing but Bogs and Woods: The *Irish* no doubt knew of their coming, and would have let them advance some Miles at least, and then resolved, with all the Force in their Power, to attack them; nor could Lieut. Gen. *Douglas* joyn them on a sudden; so that seeing our men were inferior to theirs in number, it was not the fatest to go into the midst of their Troops; and yet any that will but consider the Circumstances of the preceding story, and put things together, will find, that it has been partly our own faults that *Ireland* has not been reduced already.

A short Description
of the former State of
Ireland.

The Soil of this Country is in all respects as good, if not better than that of *England*: And as to the People, though the Country was in the Infancy of Christianity, called *Sanc-
torum*

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& *orum Patriæ*, yet in proces of Time the *Irish* did very much degenerate, and did in a manner turn perfect *Barbarians*, till at length they were partly civilized by the *English* Conquest of that Country: and yet as the Nature of Man is apter to decline than improve, instead of Reforming the *Irish*, a great many of the *English* did dwindle into meer *Irish*, both in Customs and Habit, and are the very People that we are subduing at this juncture, not One in Ten of them being of ancient *Irish* Extraction. Most part of the *North of Ireland* is at present inhabited by People from *Scotland*. The Reasons of this may be, because of the Vicinity of those Two Nations at that place, they not being Three Hours Sail asunder; or else it is, because in the Ninth Year of King *James* the First, the *North of Ireland* being then in Rebellion, that King invented a New Title of Honour both in *England* and *Scotland*; for all such (the Number not exceeding, as I remember, Two Hundred in each Nation) as would maintain Thirty Soldiers apiece, for Three Years, at the rate of 8 d. per diem, in the Service of *Ireland* (and yet they were to be Gentlemen, and worth 1000 l. per annum), those he called *Baronets*, and made his Title Hereditary, adding to each Man's Paternal Coat the Arms of *Ulster*, which is in a *Canton*, or an *Escutcheon*, which they please, in a *Field Argent*, a *Sinister Hand Cooped at the Wrist, Gules*. But this, however, was more taken notice of by the *Scots* than the *English*: at least, a great many of them went over themselves in Person into *Ulster*, and after the Rebellion, had Lands assigned to them and their Followers, whose Posterity enjoy them still.

As for the other Provinces in *Ireland*, (viz.) *Lemster, Munster*, and *Conaught*, they were generally inhabited with *English* and *Irish* intermixt, though they were in a manner Slaves to the *English*, and every Landl. was as absolute as a Prince amongst his own Tenants; but in all other respects they had the *English* Laws and Customs, and lived more plentifullly than they did in any place of *England*. Some may justly wonder to hear of all those multitudes of Cattle which have been at several times taken from the *Irish*; but as they went off from any place, they still drove along all the *Englishmens* Stocks; and certainly the Country affords abundance, because it has never been throughly inhabited; for those places that might be impro-

January.

Of the Present
State of the
Irish Army.

ved and tilled, are, for want of People, stockt with Sheep or Cattel; which was the Reason that in Queen Elizabeth's Days we read of one surly Boy in the North of Ireland, who had a Stock of Fifty Thousand Cattel to his own share.

But in short, my humble Opinion of the Affairs of that Kingdom at present, is, First, as to the *Irish*, they are naturally a fawning flattering People, they'll down upon their Knees to you at every turn; but they are very rude, false, and of no Courage (as *D. Aquila* complain'd, when he came out of *Spain* with an Army to their assistance in Queen Elizabeth's Reign): Give them but encouragement, and then there's no People so insolent: So that as Slaves, there's no way to deal with them, but to whip them into good Manners; and yet many of the Vulgar *Irish* have been abused in what they had, who thinking our Soldiers in the fault, they cut their Throats where ever they can get the upper hand. As to their Army, their Condition is not in some Respect much worse than it was before: For, 1. Their Men have seen more Service, and understand the use of their Arms better, being made good Fire-men at *Limerick* and *Athlone*. 2dly, They are now in a much narrower compas which is easilier defended, and they may in a small time draw their whole Army to any corner; when as we are dispersed up and down, and cannot so easily be got together upon any sudden occasion: They have also most of the Passes upon the *Shanon* in their possession, which could not easily be taken from any but *Irishmen*. 3dly, They are very watchful and diligent, having always good Intelligence, which is the Life of any Action; and yet it's plain there is no such way to destroy the *Irish*, as to employ some to ruine the rest, which they will certainly do their own Fathers for Money. But then after all this, they ~~have~~ a vast Crowd of People, and will not, nor cannot have ~~a~~ sufficient Subsistence for one half of them in a small time: And further, the *French* are retired, and it's to be supposed without design of returning; else they would not have gone away: Suppose therefore the *Irish* fortifie all those places in their possession, and have Arms and Ammunition, with whatever else is needful from *France*, yet all this will neither put Courage into them, to defend those Places, nor is it altogether in the power of *France* to supply them with necessary Provisions.

But, Secondly, As to our own Army, I doubt not but we have several that are indifferent whether the War be quickly at an end or not; for they find the *Irish* to be an easie sort of Enemy, and if the War were done here, they must expect hotter Service somewhere else. They look upon it however as an Enemies Country, which is the reason that great Spoils are made, and Outrages committted; nay, which is worst of all, no Distinction made of *Papist* and *Protestant*. This, it's to be fear'd, may bring a Famine; and then all Peoples Condition in that Kingdom will be very severe: For tho there be Plenty enough in *England*, yet the People of *Ireland* being poor, no body will be at the pains to carry their Goods into a Country where there is nothing to be got in return of them.

But then whatsoever pains the *Irish* take in fortifying their Towns, we take as much in carrying things to beat them out of them; for there is a vast quantity of Bombs of the largest size, with all things convenient for such a Designt, daily brought to *Dublin*. And as to our Army, our Numbers are the same the last Year, (except two Regiments that are broke:) they are also much healthfuller, and better acquainted both with the Country and their Arms; and to encourage us the more, the Parliament has granted His Majesty a considerable Fund to carry on the War, and also to Equip His Fleet, which we were in both defective last Summer. Besides, we have now at least Twelve thousand of the Militia in good order, either to defend our Garrisons behind us, or assist in our Army upon occasion; for one should think that there is no body so fit to fight for their own Country, or indeed to be entrusted with it, as those People whose Concern it is. And more than all this, we shall have a great many *Protestant Rapparees* from the North and other Places, that we can at least set against theirs; for the Northern People are most of them arm'd, either from our Men that dyed last Year, or by some means or other; so that I hope we shall have no want of Men.

If therefore we have a mind to retrieve our Losses, we must encourage such as do well, and reward them for their Valour and Conduct; but punish Offenders, though their Station be the greater. And as to the Arrears of the Army, they are not so very great as some People make them;

for though we have not had our Accounts stated for some time, yet we have still received Money upon Account, and the Soldiers have constantly been supplied with Bread and other Provisions. But it's usual with a great many, that when they can have no other Excuse for their Extravagancies, then they'll say, the King owes them so much; but say not a word of what they have receiv'd. And as to what the present *Irish* War both has cost, and is like to do, both as to Men and Money; it is not to be named with that in *Cromwell's* time, which any may see, that will but read *Burlace's* History: Nor can there be any Comparison between the present Government and that; for then both Law and Religion were trampled upon, but now they run in their due Channel.

But after all, the Reason why *Ireland* was not reduc'd last Year, was our late taking the Field; and the Occasion of that, was because the Affairs of the Army could not be put in a compleat Posture any sooner: For *England* has a long time been used to Peace and Ease, and therefore unprovided of those things that are absolutely necessary in time of War, which were to come from abroad. The King did as much as was possible in the time, as any who have seen the Country may know; for if *Ireland* were as well Peopled and Mann'd as the Soil it self will bear, it may defie all the World besides: You cannot see a Town or a small Castle, but where there's either a Bog or a River, or both; all Places being fortified as well by Nature as Art: And in War there's no doubt but time must be allow'd to regulate such Mistakes as may happen, since no Man is infallible in that Art. Nor was there a sufficient Fund of Money the Year past, to supply the real Necessities of so great a Work; which, Inconveniency being now removed, a fair Conclusion may be rationally hoped for.

As to the Charge of maintaining a competent Army there, when *Ireland* is reduced, the Country will nigh do that of it self, since the Customs in that part of the Kingdom now in our possession, amounted to Sixty seven thousand five hundred twenty six pound for the Six Months last past; and what must the whole Kingdom come to in Times of Peace and a settled Establishment? I have only this to add, That when our Armies go out to defie our Enemies, and yet at the same time in

in their Practice desie the Living God; or if we should stay at home, and fast and pray for their good Succes never so heartily; yet God will neither hear us, nor help them, if we are negligent in our Duty towards him. It therefore we desire that our Armies and Fleets may make a considerable Figure in the World, let us not grudge at and Censure every thing our Better do, but be careful to do our duty to God and Man, then after the enduring for a Season the Inconveniencies of War, we may hope to be happy in a lasting Peace. Amen.

F I N I S.

ADVERTISMENT.

WHereas there are some mistakes occasioned by the Printer's overight; which the Author, (being suddenly call'd to his Post in Ireland) had neither leisure nor opportunity to Corrett; the Reader may, if he pleases, supply such Defects.

Books lately printed for Richard Chiswell.

A New History of the Succession of the Crown of *England*, and more particularly from the Time of King *Egbert*, till King *Henry the VIII*. Collected from those Historians who wrote of their own Times.

A Discourse concerning the unreasonableness of a New Separation on account of the Oaths; with an answere to the History of Passive Obedience, so far as relates to them.

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An Account of the Ceremony of Investing his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburg* with the Order of the Garter at *Berlin*, June 6. 1690. By *James Johnston Esq*; and *Gregory King Esq*; His Majesties Commissioners.

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— His Thanksgiving Sermon before the House of Commons, November 5. 1690.

Dr. *Tenison's* Sermon before the Queen, concerning the wandring of the Mind in God's Service, Feb. 15. 1690.

— His Sermon before the Queen, of the Folly of Atheism, Feb. 22. 1690.

Dr. *Fowler's* Sermon before the Queen, March 22. 1690.

The Bishop of *Sarum's* Sermon, at the Funeral of the Lady *Brook*, February 19. 1690.

— His Fast Sermon before the King and Queen, April 29. 1691.

Mr. *Fleetwood's* Sermon at Christ Church on St. Stephen's day.

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ptarum De Archiepiscopis & Episcopis Anglia a Prima eti Chistiana suscep-
tione ad Ann. 1540. Nunc primum in Lucem editum. Pars Prima de Archiepiscopis & Episcopis Ecclesiarum Cathedralium quas Monachi possederunt. Opera Henrici Whartoni.

This Book will be ready for Publication by the Fourth of June next: Subscriptions will be taken till the first of July. Proposals for the same may be had of *Richard Chiswell*, and most other Bookellers in *London* and the Country.

A N
I M P A R T I A L H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
VVars of Ireland.

Let this be Printed,

March 2.
1652.

Charnock Heron.

A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF THE
Wars of Ireland,

From the Time that Duke Schonberg Landed
with an Army in that Kingdom, to the 23d. of
March, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$. when Their Majesties Proclamation
was published, declaring the War to be ended.

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Printed for *Ric. Thiswell*, at the *Rose and Crown*
in *St. Paul's Church-Yard.* M DC XC III.

1997-2001

TO THE
K I N G ' s
Most Excellent Majesty.

Great SIR,

 HO I m no Soldier my self,
yet four years Conversation
with men of that Profession
has emboldened me to Ad-
dress Your Sacred Majesty, not for
Your Royal Protection against the future
Attacks

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Attacks of those who will call the Account I have given of their management in Ireland, A new making War upon them; Nor to ask Your Majesty's Patronage to a Work so imperfect, which would be a Presumption impardonable: But with the deepest sense of Duty, and humblest Submission, to beg Your Majesty's Pardon for adventuring formerly to publish some part of Your Majesty's Generous Actions, and Hazardous Undertakings in that Kingdom; and now for my Ambition in repeating the same, which will always be a Subject far beyond the reach of so mean a Pen as mine.

I have nothing to value my self upon, but the honour of being employed in Your Majesty's Service ever since Your Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, encouraged thereunto for those Reasons amongst many more, That all English-men who have a pretension

The Epistle Dedicatory.

pretension to the Title of being Brave, never had a more happy opportunity of recovering and maintaining the Ancient Glory of this once most renowned Kingdom, than under the Auspicious Conduct of Your Sacred Majesty; by whose Great Example many of those whose very Constitutions were of late softened with Ease and Pleasure, are now invited to Feats of Arms worthy the Off-spring of their Ancestors. And what greater Comfort and Satisfaction can Men of any other Profession receive, than in seeing Your Majesty still so zealous in the defence of that Interest, which themselves have so great a share in?

May Your Majesty therefore, and Your Royal Consort, be as happy in Dutiful and Obedient Subjects, as we are under Your most Prudent and Gracious Government; to which no man can bear a greater Zeal, nor pray more heartily.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

heartily for Your Majesties long Life,
Health, constant Prosperity and Glory,
than

Your MAJESTY's

Most Loyal, most Dutiful,

and most Obedient Subject,

GEORGE STORY.

THE

THE PREFACE.

HE that endeavours to give an Account of so many mens behaviour as must needs be concerned in three Active Campaigns, is sure to want neither Envy, nor Detraction ; some finding fault with one thing, and some with another ; so that it is impossible to expect or hope for the pleasing of all Parties ; nor indeed is it fit to endeavour it : The Reputations of men however are tender things, and therefore every prudent man, when he has occasion to touch them, will be careful to do it very nicely. And yet it happens often to those that write, that either through heedlessness they disoblige some that do not deserve it ; or out of rashness provoke others that may make them repent it ; in which Cases there sometimes needs an excuse for Offences given, even where they never were intended.

Those, and a great many other Considerations, have not frightened me from meddling with a Subject, wherein not a few of the most eminent Persons

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sons of our Age have born a part; and the rather, because I find it has laid all this while neglected; and not any one as yet, besides my self, has undertaken it (except in some small Collections out of our publick News.) I endeavoured two years ago to give the World a true Account of the Matter of Fact, as it happened the two first Campaigns, and how Matters then stood with both the Armies. And this bore the name of, *An Impartial History of the Affairs of Ireland the Two last Years*; wherein I was desirous to make the Book it self answer its Title; and also to shew the great hopes there was then in gaining the whole Kingdom in a short time after; which I am next about to shew you how it fell out, so far as I have been able to make an enquiry into it. But since it's probable that the First Part has not reached so many Hands as this may, I have here repeated some of the most material Passages from the beginning, and added some few things that I have been informed of since I writ the other; tho my main Design is to be as particular in the last Campaign, as I have been formerly in the other two, which was done by way of Journal; as this is also, when you come to the end of the Abridgment: In all which put together, you have the Principal Occurrences from Duke Sten-berg's landing in that Kingdom, till Their Majes-ties

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ties Proclamation, dated at *Kensington, March the 3d, 1691.* Declaring that War to be ended; with some further Observations about the past and present Circumstances of that Nation.

The Blood spilt, and Treasure spent, in this unhappy War, has doubtless been a sufficient Grievance to both Kingdoms; yet we have no great reason to be out of humour at it now, there being at that time an apparent necessity for it; by which the War is also removed to a greater distance, till we can gain a Firm, Honourable, and Lasting Peace from abroad; that so Their Majesties may be at leisure to free their own Dominions from the Vices and Corruptions of a Licentious Age.

But I am no Politician; and therefore what I have to offer in behalf of this Undertaking of mine, is only this; That it was the honour I had for the Memory of that Great Man Duke Sconberg, and a desire to set the World right at that time in their Judgments, how Matters stood with both Armies, which put me first upon the Design. And the favourable Acceptance that my first endeavours met with in *Ireland*, has encouraged me to continue them; though I must be so grateful as to own the kind Resentments of some in my own Countrey also, and particularly those of my Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*, who

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has been pleased, not only to commend the Undertaking, but to honour me with the Correction of some of my Papers with his own Hand, and also with an Account of the reasons for some Particulars, that before I was in the dark for want of.

I hate to clog Truth with any Artifice ; nor is there any occasion for such an endeavour, suppose I had an inclination or skill to do it; for whilst things are fresh in every ones memory, if a man should be guilty of any notable and wilful Mistake that way, there are a great many able to find it out. I have done the Subject therefore no injury, but by my own defects, which by this means I have exposed to the publick Censure of all People.

I have seen a great part of the most notable Adventures however, from the beginning to the end, and want only skill to give a good Account of them. By-standers commonly see more than those actually ingaged in Battel ; here every man is tied to his Post, and minds the Business only that is before him ; when those that are Lookers on, have nothing else to do but to observe : So that wherein I have been defective in this Point, is more for want of Judgment than Opportunity ; and those that are Judges in the Military Art, I hope will pardon me where I have made use of Terms that are not proper to that Profession. But besides what

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what Observations I have been able to make my self, I have had the benefit of several *Diaries*, and some of those writ with good skill ; I have look'd over all our Publick Accounts too, and been freely allowed the advantage of several Publick Papers and Letters at the Secretary of War's Office, and other places ; so that you have all that I know of the matter ; and I hope it's no crime in me to know no more than I do ; tho I will not warrant what I have said from being guilty of several Mistakes ; for men relate things generally as they conceive 'em ; and of many that have seen the same thing, few there are that relate it alike, every one speaking of it according to his own Notions, or as his mind is turned by clear or confused Conceptions ; which alone may be sufficient Encouragement to any judicious Undertaker to be at the pains to compleat the Work, especially when they see a thing of that Importance so slovenly managed : Tho I am the first that has chalked out the way, and have some Reasons to believe, that whoever writes afterwards upon this Subject, will take more upon Trust than I have done.

There is already published *An Account of the State of the Protestants in Ireland under the late King's Reign*, most of whom found it true by experience what is there at large related ; which is the reason that

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at this day in *Ireland* you'll find no *Jacobites* but *Papists*. Some of whom I hear have made it their boast, That they have answered that Book ; but I'm sufficiently assured, That the Reverend Author who writ it, is able to make it good : And what credit one of the *Romish* Faith, and an *Irish* Evidence too , will gain by contradicting pure Matter of Fact, any sober man may easily foresee. Sir *Richard Cox* has also been pleased to say, That he will oblige the world with a Third Volume of his History ; upon which Considerations I have said little of things before our own Landing, and afterwards have for the most part confined my self to matters relating to the Army, even in which, if we take things as they rise, there have been several Actions on our side, that have made but an indifferent Figure to us, who possibly did not stand in a good light, and so could not discern the true Reasons of things; only we ought to be satisfied , that Publick Authority is not to be subject to the private Passions and Opinions of the people; nor the Laws of Government either in Armies or elsewhere, to the Fancies of every pretender.

Some perhaps may ask what part of our Army had the greatest Interest in the Glory of those Victories which we have gained in that Kingdom, we

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we being composed of so many different Nations, which must needs create Emulation, if not Envy it self? It has been an Observation before my time, That all people generally have a good opinion of themselves, and magnifie their own Countrey men either as to Courage or Customs, though it be often without the least shew of Reason: The *Turks* you see contemn us, and we them as much: The *Grecians* in former times called all the world but themselves *Barbarians*, and now they are as much despised by most people: The *Italians* deride the *French*, and they again scoff at the *Italians*: The *Spaniards* laugh at all, and every Countrey again at them: We call the *Irish* Wild and Rude, and they think to be even with us in calling us *English Churles*, and other Names of Reproach; and notwithstanding they were worsted, yet their Officers would confidently affirm, That their men had as much Courage as those that beat them. The *Danes* too magnified their own Actions, and the *Dutch* and *French* did as much for themselves; yet if you'll grant me but for this once to be impartial, I can affirm by often-repeated experience That I never saw any thing contemn Death to that degree, (and that too in all shapes) as the *English Officers* and *Soldiers* did upon all occasions. And if

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if any endeavour to take the greatest part of the Glory of that War from them, they do them not that Justice which the Merit of their Cause deserves: Not that other people did not behave themselves very well, but the Numbers of no other Nation were equal to ours; or if they had, can I by any means allow they could have outdone us.

I have done our Enemies all the Justice in every point, that the Merit of their Cause would bear, and that too from several of their own mouths, upon whose Credit I have related many Circumstances. And as to our own side, I am very far from having the least prejudice to the Person of any man; nor if I had, could I ever persuade my self to take so poor a Revenge, (if any) as to asperse him unjustly; this would be my own loss, and not his: So that if any man happen to be injured by what I have said, (though there's a great difference between being *wronged* and *offended*) I declare it no wilful Mistake, and shall be very ready to ask his Pardon; which I will not do to any man, for saying what I know to be true.

But

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But what I am most sorry for is, That I question not but a great many Gentlemen have deserved very well in this War, tho it has been my Misfortune not to know their Names ; and yet I hope that Time and a more diligent Enquiry will do them Justice.

What I have writ towards the end of the Book, concerning the past and present States of that Countrey, was done with the rest in *April* last, when the noise of the *French* Descent filled every ones ears ; and the same discourse being now revived, I shall let it stand as it is, with this Remark, That though I am no Prophet, yet if they do make an Attempt, I hope they'll have the same Fate that others have had before them.

Whatever my Account of these matters may be, yet the Maps that I have inserted, which illustrate the principal Battels and Sieges, are very good, and cost no small Pains and Charges to bring them to that perfection : But when I read over these Papers my self, I find the Stile of the whole harsh and unpleasant ; which must needs be much more so to others, especially in an Age wherein so many Learned and Great Men have

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brought our Language to so great Perfection :
But all the hopes I have is, That the most Learned Men are aptest to put the most favourable Construction upon a private man's Endeavour, and will be ready to pardon a great many Defects in one that means well : and as for all the Censorious men in the world, I shall not be much concerned at what they say.

E R R A T A.

Page 1.1.6. for 1690. read 1689. p.27.1.10. for *Coltiers* r. *Cottiers*: p.28. in the Marg. dele *A List of Their Majesties Army.* p.42.1.2. dele (a). p.46.1.10. for *have r. having.* p.50.1.29. for *Raparees* r. *Raparee.* p.53.1.4. dele *here.* p.57.1.15. for *drawn on r. drawn up.* p.90.1.10. for *Hand shot off r. Head shot off.* ibid. I.32. for *terrible r. terribly.* p.109.1.30. for *in these r. these.* p.116.1.20. r. *necessaries.* p.126.1.29. for 1000 r. 10000. p.151.1.13. for *went r. going.* p.162. in the Marg. for *Monks* r. *Mac-
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nor r. Connel.* p.191.1.25. for *amounted r. mounted.* p.215.1.16. the word *being* mis-
placed. p.249.1.5. for *Commander r. Commander.* p.254.1.15. for *Account r. which Ac-
count.* p.260.1.32. for *each r. reach.* p.292.1.8. r. *Major-Generals.* ibid. I.11.r. *Boats*
p.295.1.29. dele *Sir.* p.318.1.31. before the word *Kingdom*, add *King or.* p.324.1.35.
for *Conversation r. Conversing.*

There are some other small Errors in Pages, Months, or Names, which the Reader may please to Correct as he finds them.

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A

Continuation of the Impartial History
OF THE
WARS OF IRELAND.

CHAP. I.

A brief Account, by way of Introduction, of the Cause of the War. The state of the Protestants in that Kingdom. The Late King's landing there. The Sessions of Parliament in Ireland. Protestants Routed at Drummore, and other Places. Derry Besieged; and Relieved. The Irish beat at Croom Castle. Duke Sconberg lands in August 1690. Carigsergus Surrendred. Newry Burnt. The Army march'd to Dundalk. And Encamp there nigh ten Weeks. Sligo taken by the Irish. A Party of theirs Repulsed at Newry. The Battel of Cavan. The Danes land in Ireland. 5000 French Foot land at Kinsale. Charlemont Surrendred.



HE Actions of Great Men have generally been esteemed so powerful for the instructing of those that come after, that most Civil States have made it their Business to Transcribe, and preserve them to posterity for their Example and Imitation. Even the *Irish* themselves, when they were far from being one of the

1689.

C

most

1689. most Reformed Nations in the World, had their Bards, and Ballad-makers, who have taken no small pains in their way to render the Chieftains of their own Country as famous as others. Nay, the Greatest Generals and Emperors have in the midst of their Conquests employed some of their time to leave the immortal Memory of their own, and other Great Mens Actions in writing ; the omission of which has been a great defect in the middle Age of the World, since those are commonly the most Competent Judges of the management of Affairs, and ablest to give a true Account.

But because in this Fighting Age, wherein we now live, their time is other ways employed ; and Great Men have scarce leisure to read, much less to write great Books ; we must be contented to take the best Accounts we can get of their Actions from meaner Hands, such as have been Eye-witnesSES of them, or at least have good grounds for what they tell us. And forasmuch as the Disturbances in *Ireland* have made so great a noise in the Ears of all *Europe*, whilst they lasted ; and my self as a constant Attendant on their Majesties Army, having been an Eye-witness to the most Remarkable Occurrences ; I shall not scruple to tell the World all I know ; which as it is for the most part little else but the bare matter of Fact, I hope it may not be despised, though it come from so mean a Hand, and in so homely a Dress.

I need not trouble the Reader with a long Discourse about the Occasion of the War ; The general Aversion of the People of *England* to Popery, and their being ill treated by a Prince of that Persuasion, made such a sudden Change in that Kingdom, as the like never happened before in any Age or Countrey : But *Ireland* was under different Circumstances ; the

Roman-Catholick Party being there by much the stronger (at least more numerous) of whom my Lord *Tyrconnell* had, during the late King's Reign, been modelling an Army that might be ready on all Occasions to maintain the Popish Interest, by which the Protestants in that Kingdom were brought upon the very brink of Ruine, and then forced most of them to fly from thence to secure their Lives against an Insolent and ungovernable *Irish* Army; who by order from the Government, seized upon all the Horses and Arms they could find in the Hands of the Protestants throughout the Kingdom, and made all possible Preparations to resist a powerful Army from *England*, which was but reasonable to look for, since it's so inconsistent with the Laws, Interest and Policy of this Kingdom, to have *Ireland* in any other hands but their own.

On the 12th of March the Late King, with about 1800 men from *France*, landed at *Kinsale* in the West of *Ireland*. And on the 14th several of the Northern Protestants that had betaken themselves to Arms, were routed at a place called *Drummore*, by Lieut. Gen. *Hambleton* (who was some time before sent into *Ireland* to treat with my Lord *Tyrconnel* to deliver up the Sword; but joining with his Lordship, and the *Irish* at his Landing, he was preferred to that Post.) He had with him at *Drummore* about 2000 of the *Irish* standing Army, and nigh as many Rapareers, though he killed but few of the Protestants, they making a Running Fight of it, as others also did at *Killiegh*, *Claydy-foord*, and some other Places; several flying into *England*, or *Scotland*, though the most resolute amongst them went towards *London-Derry*, where in a short time they were actually besieged by the greatest part of the *Irish* Army.

1689.

The Late King
lands in Ire-
land.

1689.
An Irish Parliament called.

And then the *Irish* make Preparations for the sitting of their Parliament, which was on the 7th of May 1689. wherein all the mere *Irish* were admitted as Members; and most of the *English* Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and substantial Tradesmen of that Kingdom, were attainted by name; their Estates and Goods being declared forfeited, if they returned not by a certain day, which to the greatest part was next to an impossibility.

There were some Protestants however in this Parliament who endeavoured to do their Absent Brethren, and the Protestant Interest, all the faithful service imaginable; particularly the Bishop of *Meath*, who made several excellent Speeches in the House of Lords in opposition to their Proceedings; but the Current was then too strong to be stopt, and whoever endeavoured it, their Attempts were fruitless.

The Siege of London-derry.

But the greatest Thorn in their sides at that time in *Ireland*, was the City of *London-derry*, which contemned both their Threats and fair Promises, baffling the chief of their Forces for at least Four Months together, without any extraordinary Supplies from *England*, till they were reduced to the last Extremity: Yet on the 25th. of *March* the Besieged had some Arms and Ammunition brought them by Captain *James Hambleton*. And on the 13th. of *April*, Collonel *Richards* and Collonel *Cunningham* were sent with Two Regiments from *England* to their Assistance; who coming to the Lough of *Derry*, and being ordered to obey the then Governour *Lundy*'s directions, they were told by him, That the Town could not hold out a Week; and that their coming in would only be the loss of their men, and the Besieged also; and advised them to return, which they did, tho they lost their Regiments upon it.

Then

(commonly called my Lord *Monashel*) that were marching towards them, in order to Besiege their Town also, they very bravely met them nigh Twenty Miles from home,

Then went Major-General *Kirk*, with his own Regiment, Sir *John Hanmer's*, and Brigadier *Stuart's*, who anchor'd in the Lough Two Months ; during which time a great many French Commanders were sent to the *Irish* Camp, and also the late King himself went down to encourage the Besiegers, fresh Supplies of men going thither daily, but all to no purpose ; which when he saw how unsuccessful the Attempts of his *Irish* Army against the Town were like to prove, it's confidently reported, that he exprest himself to this effect, *That if he had had as many English-men in his Army, as he had of others, they would have brought him it stone by stone ere that.* But being weary of so tedious a Siege, he returned to *Dublin* ; and at last, the *Dartmouth* Frigat forced her way up to the Town ; and the *Irish* raised their Siege on the last of *July*. The Management of this Affair was blamed by some of themselves, who were either for pushing on the Siege with their whole Army, or else for making a Blockade, and so going into *Scotland* with the rest of the Army, as my Lord *Melfort* advised, and as my Lord *Dunee* earnestly writ for several times ; but some of the *Irish* Officers advised the late King to a Medium, by making a slow and regular Siege, which would teach his men to be the better Soldiers ; but thereby he lost his opportunity, in not sending to reinforce *Dundee*, whereby he might at least have changed the seat of the War.

Nor were the *Inniskilliners* behind their Neighbours of *Derry* in oppsing the *Irish* on all occasions ; for besides several Actions of moment performed by them at other times, the very day before the Siege of *Derry* was raised, the *Inniskilliners* hearing of about Six thousand of the *Irish* Army, commanded by Major-General *Mackarty*, (commonly called my Lord *Moncafel*) that were marching towards them, in order to Besiege their Town also, they very bravely met them nigh Twenty Miles from home,

1689.
Major-General
Kirk sent
to their relief.

1689. home, and at a place called *Newtown Butler*, near *Croom-Castle*, they fought and routed the *Irish*, killing and drowning in Loughs and Bogs nigh Three thousand, *Mackarty* himself and some few more being taken Prisoners: The whole Body of the *Inniskilliners*, both Horse and Foot, were not above Two thousand; and scarce Twenty of those were killed, with about Fifty more wounded. This I have had confirmed by several very good men of that Party; and it's in a great measure owned by the *Irish* themselves.

The Battel at
Newtown But-
ler.

Duke Schonbergh
lands with an
Army in Ire-
land.

After these *Affronts*, the *Irish* Army retire into *Leinster* and *Munster*, in order to recruit and refresh themselves; when they had soon an account (to their sorrow), That Duke *Schonbergh*, General of all Their Majesties of Great Britain's Forces, was landed with an Army at *Bangor* in the *North of Ireland*: This was on *Tuesday, August the 13th.* and on the *17th.* the General with his Army marched to *Belfast*; from whence on the *20th.* he sent Five Regiments of Foot, with some Horse, to *Invest* the Town of *Carrickfergus*; and the next day, followed himself with the remainder of the Army. There were Two Regiments of Foot in the Town, under *Mackarty Moore* the Governor, and *Owen Mackarty*, who held it out till the *27th.* at what time the following Articles were agreed to and signed.

Articles of Agreement between Frederick Duke of Schonbergh, General of Their Majesties Forces; and Col. Charles Mackarty Moore, Governor of Carrickfergus, August 27. 1689.

Art. I. THAT the Garison shall march out with flying ^{Articles of} Colours, Arms, lighted Matches, and their ^{Carrickfergus.} own Baggage to morrow by Ten a Clock.

II. That in regard the Garison are in such Disorders, none be admitted into the Town, but such a Guard as we think fit to send to one of the Gates, which shall immediately be delivered to us, according to the Custom of War.

III. That the Garison shall march out to morrow by Ten a Clock, and be conducted by a Squadron of Horse to the nearest Garison of the Enemy; and there shall be no crowding nor confusion when they march out.

IV. That nothing be carried out of the Town, which belongs to the Protestants or other Inhabitants.

V. That the Governour obliges himself to deliver all Cannon, and other sort of Arms, Munition, Victuals of any kind, into the hands of such a Commissary as shall be ordered by us to receive them to morrow morning.

VI. That if there be anything due from the Garison, to the Inhabitants of the Protestant Religion, it shall be paid; and what has been taken from them, shall be restored.

VII. That a safe Conduct for all the Inhabitants of the Countrey, and such of the Roman-Catholick Clergy that came for shelter to this Garison, shall be allowed, and that they go to

1689. to their respective habitations, together with their Goods, and there be protected, pursuant to King William's Declaration, bearing date the 22d. of February last past.

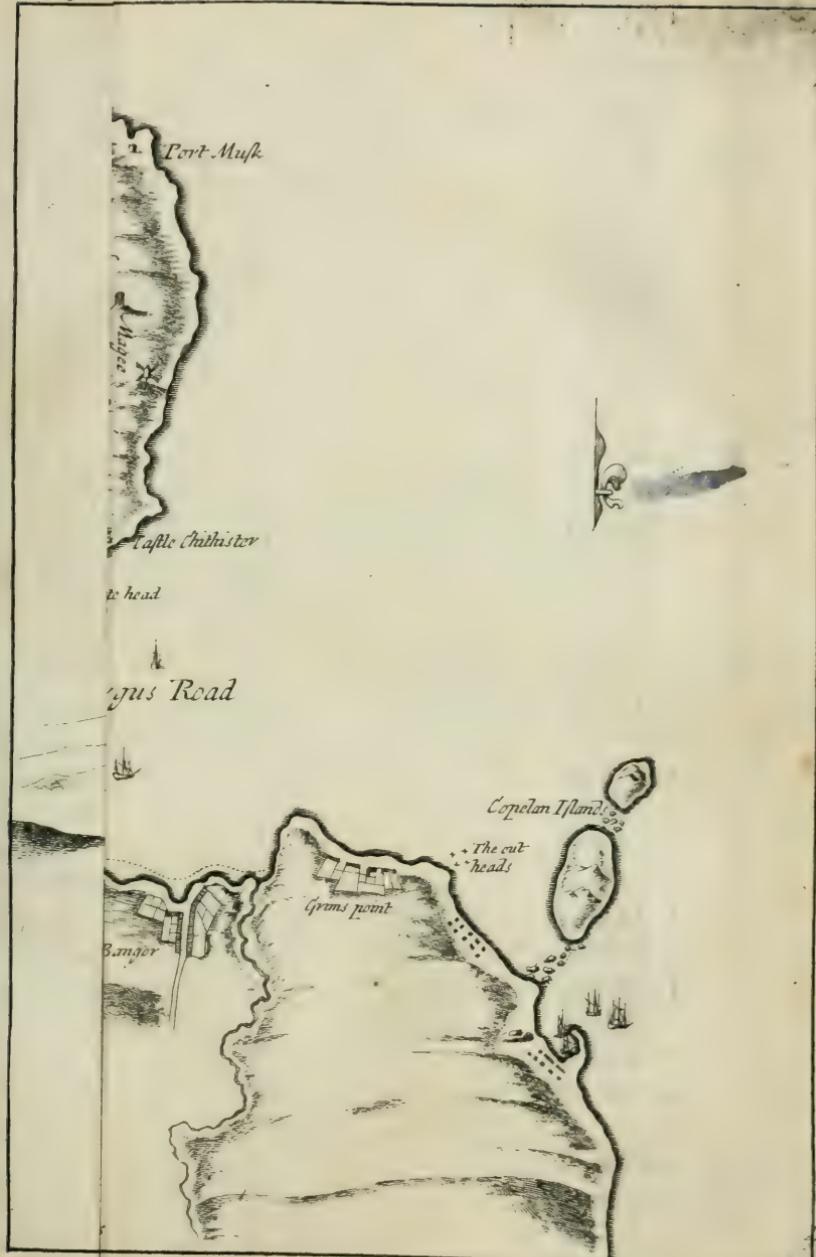
VIII. That care shall be taken of the sick and wounded men of the Garrison that cannot go along with the Regiments; and that when they are in a condition to follow the rest, they shall have our Pass.

SCHONBERG.

Pursuant to which Articles, the *Irish* marched out, tho the Duke himself had much a-do to protect them from the Violence of the Countrey People; the Injuries they had received in being plundered and stript by them, were so fresh in their memories. The *Irish* had about 150 killed and wounded during the Siege, and the Duke near the same number; and *Wednesday* the 28th. and the day following, the Army marched back to *Belfast*, where they were joined by Duke *Schonbergh's* French Horse, Sir *Thomas Govers* Foot, and some other Regiments sent from *England*. On *Saturday* the last of *August*, our Army was Mustered, being Four Regiments of Horse, one of Dragoons, and Eighteen Regiments of Foot, (*viz.*) Horse, Earl of *Devonshire's*, Lord *Delamere's*, Col. *Coy's*, and Duke *Schonbergh's*, with Col. *Leveson's* Dragoons. Foot, one Battalion of *Blew Dutch*, *Carleton's* *White Dutch*, *Princess Anne's*, Col. *Wharton's*, *Earl of Drogheda's*, Lord *Lisburn's*, Earl *Meath's*, Lord *Roscommon's*, Lord *Lovelace's*, Earl of *Kingston's*, the Duke of *Norfolk's*, Col. *Herbert's*, Sir *Edward Deering's*, Sir *Thomas Gower's*, Col. *Earl's*, *La M'llionere's*, *Du Cambon's*, *La Callimot's*; and a day or two after, we were joined by most of the *Inniskilling* Horse, who stayed with us during the succeeding Campaign.

Our Army
mustered at
Belfast.

The





The Duke having ordered most of his Artillery and 1689. Ammunition on Board at Carrickfergus (our Train-Horses being many of them as yet at Chester) and then to go for Carlingford, within eight miles of Dundalk, he marched The Army march to Newry. his Army forwards on Monday the 2d. of September, and came on the 6th. to Newry, which he found laid in Ashes by the Duke of Berwick, who having been there with about 1700 Foot and Dragoons, and two Troops of Horse, had retired towards Dundalk the evening before, and left Newry in a flame. Here the General posted Capt. Palliser of Sir Thomas Gower's Regiment with Fifty men in an old Castle that was unburnt; and on Saturday the 7th. we marched to Dundalk, where the Army encamped on a low moist Ground, nigh a mile short of the Town. On Sunday the 8th. Major-General Kirk's, Sir John Hanmer's, and Brigadier Stuart's Regiments, join'd us from the North.

The Irish Army were at this time in a great Confusion, and it was debated whether they should quit Drogheda and Dublin, and so retire towards the Shannon; but my Lord Tyrconnel opposed it; and when Marshal De Rose understood that Duke Schonberg halted at Dundalk, Thence to Dundalk. He was sure (he said) that he wanted something necessary for their going forwards; and therefore part of their Army advanced, first to Ardee, and then in a day or two to a place called the Bridge of Fane, upon a small River within three miles of Dundalk, whither the late King with his whole Army (being about 28000 well arm'd, and nigh Ten thousand indifferently arm'd men), followed about the 15th. at what time we began to intrench our Camp; and also some shipping with Provisions came to us.

Friday the 20th. we were alarm'd with the Enemies approach, and they did appear upon the Hills above the Town, next day drawing out their whole Army with a The Irish make a shew of fighting.

1689. Train of Artillery, which the Duke seeing, ordered all his men to stand to their Arms, and expected the Enemies attacking him, but that they had no great mind to ; and after a Discovery of a Plot by some French, to carry the rest over to King James, one *Du Plessy* and five more being hanged, as also Two hundred others sent for *England*, the Enemy seeing that opportunity lost, they returned with the main Body of their Army to *Ardee*, where they encamped till about the 4th. of *November*, and then they marching off, we thought it high time to do so likewise, after being encamp'd almost Ten weeks in a very unwholsome place, and pestered with all the disadvantages of bad weather, by reason of which we lost in the Camp, in our going to *Quarters*, and in them and the Hospitals, at least one half of our men, the Army consisting then of Nine Regiments and Two Troops of Horse, Four Regiments of Dragoons, and Thirty Regiments of Foot, whereof Two Regiments of Horse, One of Dragoons, and Six of Foot, did not come to the Camp, but were quartered in the Countrey.

Sligo taken by
the *Irish*.

About this time a Body of the *Irish* under *Sarsfield* retook *Sligo* and *James-town*, the Duke not being in a condition to send a sufficient number of men to their Relief. Upon the 8th. and 10th. of *November* our Army decamped, and were dispersed afterwards over the North in *Quarters*; and not long after, (*viz*) *November* 24. early in the morning, Major-General *Boiselleau* with about Seventeen hundred men, endeavoured to surprize *Newry*, and a good part of them were actually in the Town, but were beat out again by about Sixty of Sir *Henry Inglesby*'s Regiment (all that were then well of 'em), with some few Townsmen that had rebuilt their Houses; the *Irish* making

A Party of the
Irish repulsed
at *Newry*.

i. Infilling Horsf
 k. Infilling Dragoons
 l. Retrenchments
 m. Battery's



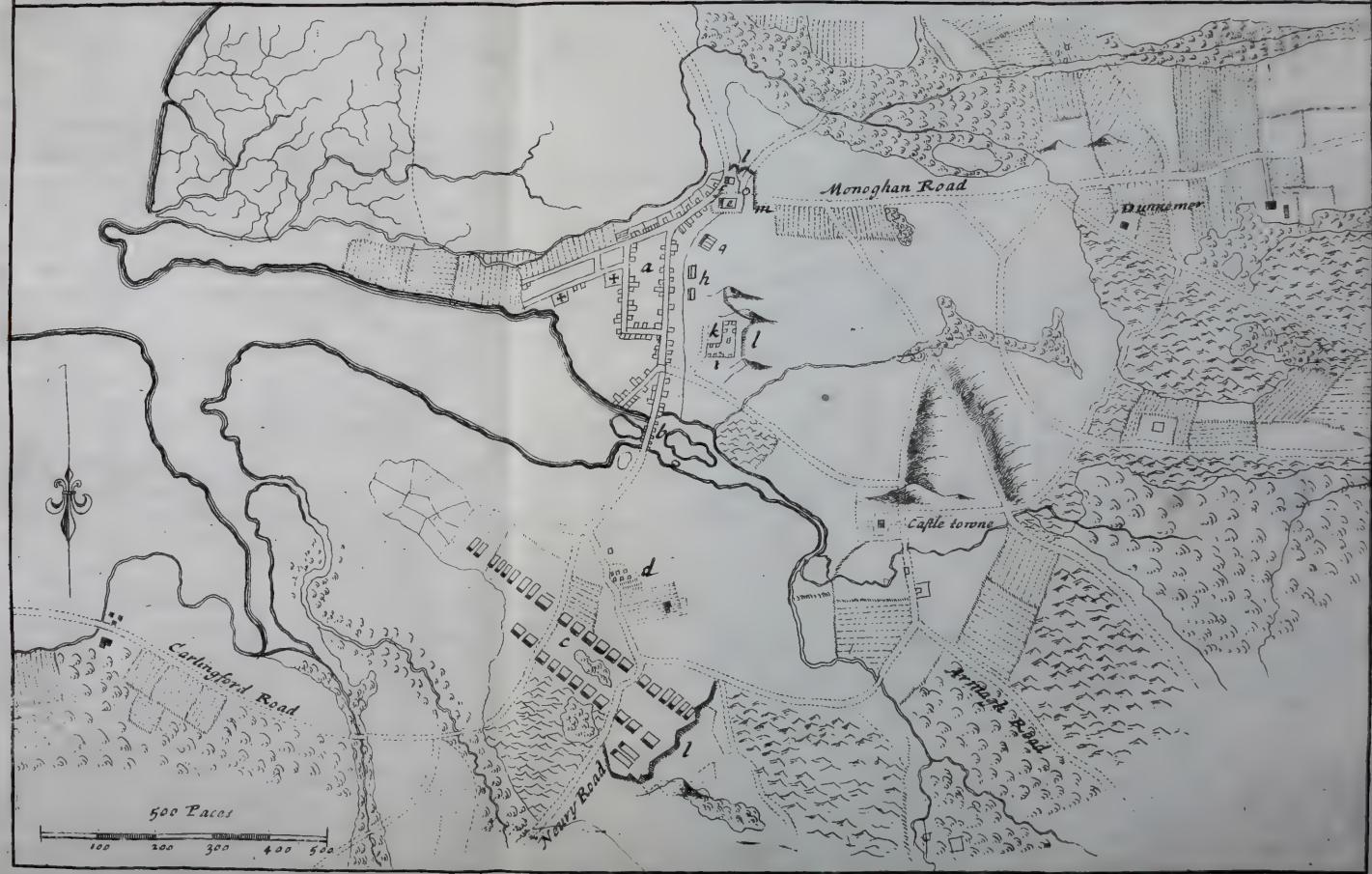
Major-General Mackarty makes his escape.

a. Dundalk
b. Bridge
c. great Camp
d. Artillery

e. Battalions of Guards
f. Carliss Regt.
g. English Dragoons
h. Inskilling foot

i. Inskilling Horse
k. Inskilling Dragoons
l. Retrenchments
m. Battery's

The English Camp near Dundalk



so great haste away, that not many of their number were slain, six Soldiers and a Lieutenant-Collonel being only left upon the spot; we had also two Captains and six men killed, and some few wounded: And so ended that great Contrivance, in endeavouring to surprize first that, and afterwards all our Frontier Garrisons; which as the case then stood with us, had been no difficult task to perform.

Towards the latter end of November, the General ordered a Meeting of all the Countrey Gentlemen then in the North of Ireland, to be at *Lisburne*, where his Grace's Head Quarters were fixed, at what time they presented the Duke with an Address, and then agreed upon Rates for all sorts of Provision; which by Proclamation from the General were commanded to be sold accordingly.

December the 12th. Collonel *Woolly* marched with a Party towards *Belturbet*, which was surrendred to him by the *Irish*; and on the 13th. the Duke went to view *Charlemont*, a strong-hold which the *Irish* then had, and kept for some time afterwards.

Towards the latter end of December, the *Irish* began to lessen the Coin of their Bras Money, calling in the large Half-Crowns, and stamping them a new for Crowns; and near the same time Major-General *Mackarty* made his escape from *Imiskilling*, where he had remained a Prisoner ever since the Riot at *Croom Castle*. Collonel *Hambleton*, Gouvernour of the Town, was Tried by a Court-Marshal for it afterwards, but producing Major-General *Kirk's* Letter to him, wherein he desired that some further Conveniencies might be allowed *Mackarty* than formerly; upon which it being done (with the Duke's Consent, who took *Mackarty* for a man of Honour) the Governor was acquitted.

Major-General
Mackarty makes his escape.

1690. The beginning of January, our Regiments being all very thin, and it appearing a little difficult to recruit them in *England*, most people being then out of humour for the loss of their Relations and Acquaintance, nor altogether that number of Voluntiers appearing then as formerly, therefore several Regiments were broke one into another, and the supernumerary Officers continued at half-pay till Provision could be made for them in other Regiments; Sir *Tho. Gover* being dead, my Lord *Drogheda's* Regiment was broke into his, and his Lordship made Collonel of it; my Lord *Roscommon's* Regiment was broke also into Collonel *Earl's*; and Collonel *Zanchy's* (formerly my Lord *Lovelace's*) Sir *Henry Inglesby's*, and Collonel *Hambleton's* of *Inniskilling*, were broke into other Regiments; and about the 12th. 16th. and 20th. most of the Officers designed for that Service, went from *Lisburne* towards *England*, for Recruits to the Army.

January the 18th. A Proclamation was published, strictly forbidding Cursing, Swearing, and Prophaneness in Officers or Soldiers, under the Penalties enjoined in the Articles of War, and his Grace's utmost Displeasure; but neither this, nor yet the Judgments of God then hanging upon us for those and a great many other sins, had that effect that the General and other good men heartily wished for; and no doubt of it, the Debaucherries in Armies are the high-way to Ruin, since those both obey and fight best, that are the most sober.

The 22d. Brigadier *Stuart* went with a Party of Five hundred Horse and Foot towards *Dundalk*, destroying several Cabins amongst the Mountains, where the *Irish* used to shelter themselves; and his Party brought in a considerable Prey at their return.

The 25th. the General went from *Lisburne*, in order to visit our Frontier Garisons, and appointed stores of Bread, Cheese, Shooes, and other Necessaries at several places, especially at *Armagh*, the Metropolis of the whole Island.

On the 11th of February, a part of our Army being drawn together to attend the Enemy's Motion, who we understood were then in a Body towards *Dundalk*; The General himself went to *Drummore*, and so to *Loughbritland*, in order to give the Enemy Battel, if they advanced; our Men and Horses having recovered by this time from their late Diseases to a Miracle. Sir *John Laneir*, and Brigadier *La Melionere*, advanced with a Party towards *Carlingford*, but returned with an Account, that there were only three Regiments at *Dundalk*, as formerly; but the Design of the *Irish* lay another way. For whilst the Duke was abroad on that side, Collonel *Woolsey* had notice that the Enemy were resolved to fall upon *Belturbet*, where he then commanded; to which purpose they had already crowded a Garison of theirs called *Cavan*, eight miles from *Belturbet*, at what place they expected a greater Force in a day or two; but Collonel *Woolsey*, to be before-hand with their visit, marched from *Belturbet* on the 12th, about Four in the Afternoon, with Seven hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horse and Dragoons, hoping to surprize the Enemy next Morning early; but he met with so many Difficulties in his march, that instead of being at the Place before day, as he designed, it was fair day-light before he came near it; the Enemy had also taken the Alarm, and were so far from being surprized, that instead of the usual Garison (which we only as yet expected there) the first thing that our men saw, was a Body of the Enemy's drawn

The Irish Army in motion.

1690.

The Battel of
Cavan.

drawn up in good order, and judged to be about Four thousand. It was rather therefore a surprize upon us, than them; however, we fought and routed them, killed Brigadier *Nugent*, with several other Officers, and about Three hundred Soldiers, taking Twelve Officers, and Sixty private Men, Prisoners; burnt the Town, and returned with a good Booty; having lost Major *Trahern*, Captain *Armstrong*, and Captain *Myo*, with about Thirty private Men, and double the number wounded.

Sir John Lanier
goes to Dun-
dalk with a
Party.

And to let the Enemy see that we were ready for them on all sides, Sir John Lanier marched again on the 15th towards *Dundalk* with a Party of One thousand Horse, Foot and Dragoons; he came before the Place early next Morning, which the Enemy had fortified very regularly. And placing some of his men near the Works on the North-east Side towards the Bridge, he sent a Party of Collonel *Leveson*'s Dragoons cross the River, who took *Bedloe*'s Castle, an Ensign and Thirty men surrendring themselves Prisoners; In the mean time another Party marched in at the South-west End of the Town, and burnt most of what was left without the Works; in which Service we lost a Lieutenant, and two or three Dragoons; our Men returning with a Prey of Fifteen hundred Cows and Horses.

The Danes
land in Ire-
land.

The beginning of March, landed the Duke of *Wertenberg* with Six Thousand *Danes*, being proper men; very well Cloathed and Armed. On the 12th, Collonel *Callimot*, with a Party, endeavoured to burn the Wooden Bridge at *Charlemont*, which he set fire to, and killed about Twenty of the Enemy; lost his own Major, with about Six men, and so returned.

5000 French
land in Ireland.

March the 14th, Five thousand French Foot under Count *Lauzune*, and the Marquess de *Lery*, landed at

Kjn-

Kinsale, in order to join the Late King's Army ; 1690. for whom, in exchange, Major-General *Macharty*, and near the same number of *Irish*, were sent into *France*, our *English* Fleet, then attending the Queen of *Spain*, made this Undertaking more easie to the *French*.

April the 6th, Collonel *Woolsey*, with a Party of Seven hundred men, attacked the Castle of *Killyshandra*, seven miles from *Belturbet*, where the Enemy had a Garison of One hundred and sixty men, commanded by one Captain *Darcy*; after some Mines were fixed, and a brisk Assault or two made upon their Works (in which we lost Eight men) the Besieged surrendered, and we left a Garison of One hundred men in the Place. Nigh which time a great many Recruits, as also Collonel *Cutts*, Collonel *Babington's*, with a *Danish* Regiment of Horse, landed at *White-House*.

April the 18th, Sir *Cloudley Shovell* went into the Bay of *Dublin*, and brought from a Place called the *Salmon Pool*, a Frigat of Sixteen Guns, and Four Pat-
tereroes, loaden with Hides, Tallow, some Plate, and other Rich Moveables, designed for *France*; the Late King, and several of his *Irish* Regiments, marching as far as *Rings-End*, where they were all Witnesses of so wicked an Action (as they called it) done on so good a Day, it being *Good-Friday*.

Sir *Cloudley Shovell* takes a Frigat out of the Bay of *Dublin*.

May the 2d, Lieutenant-Collonel *Mackmeon*, with about Four hundred men, Ammunition, and some small quantities of Provisions, got into *Charlemont* in the Night, but our *French* and other Regiments posted thereabouts, watched him so narrowly, that though he made two or three Attempts, yet he could not get out again. And the second Week in *May*, several *English*, a *Brandenburg*, and Three *Dutch* Regiments landed. By which time also all our Recruits were

Relief put in-
to *Charlemont*.

1690.

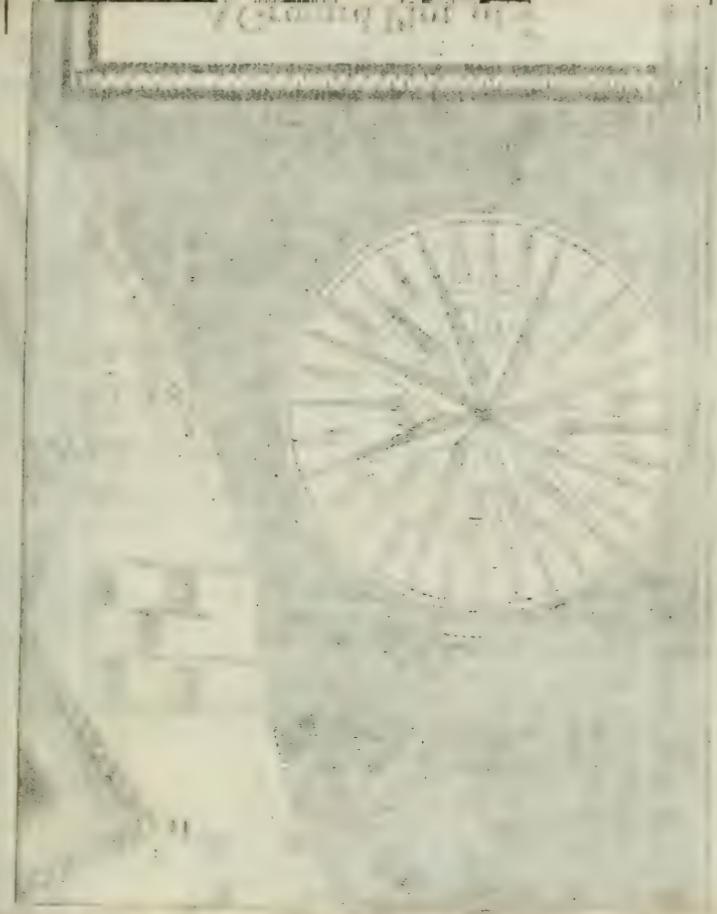
were compleated, and the Regiments Cloathed; so that we had now an Excellent Army, all over-joyed with the Assurance that His Majesty in person designed to make that Campaign in *Ireland*. A part of our Army also begin to take the Field, and Encamp almost round *Charlemont*; Cannon and Mortars were sent up that way too, in order to force old *Teague O'Regan*, the Governour, from his Nest, if he would not quit it otherways; but their Provisions being spent, and no hopes of Relief appearing, on the 12th of May the Governour desired a Parley, and after some time it was agreed, That his Garrison should march out with their Arms and Baggage, which they did on the 14th, being about Eight hundred (besides two hundred Women and Children) four Companies of Collonel *Babington*'s Regiment taking possession of the Place. We found Seventeen Pieces of Cannon, one large Mortar, Eighty three Barrels of Powder, with some Fire Arms, and other useful Materials in the Castle.

The same day that *Charlemont* was surrendred, Collonel *Woolsey*, and Collonel *Foulks*, with Twelve hundred men, went to a Castle called *Bellynacarry*, in which the Enemy had Two hundred men; this was situate in a small Lough, so that our men were forced to march up to their middles in water to make their Approaches; the Enemy fired smartly upon us, killed us Two Captains, an Ensign, and Seventeen men, and wounded Forty three; but when they saw us resolved to have the Place, they hung out their White Flag, and agreed to march away without their Arms.

About the middle of May, one Captain *King*, Mr. *Wingfield* a Councillor at Law, and Mr. *Trench* a Clergy man, with five or six more, came from *Dublin*

Charlemont
surrendred.

P2



in an open Boat, and gave the Duke a more exact Account how Matters went in the *Irish Quarters*, than any he had received formerly, which were of use to His Majesty afterwards. The 6th of June Count Sconberg (now Duke of *Leinster*) came from *England*, and with him the Train, with some Arms and Ammunition, as also Two hundred Carpenters, with other Artificers for the service of the Army.

1690.

E

C H A P.

His Majesty lands in Ireland. Our Army takes the Field. The King marches towards the Boyn. His Majesty's narrow Escape the day before the Battel. The Battel of the Boyn. The number of the Dead. The Late King quits Ireland. Our Army marches to Dublin. His Majesty's Declaration to the Irish. A List of our General Officers; and of those belonging to the Irish Army. The number of men in both Armies. Our Army divides. Lieutenant-General Douglass marches with a Party towards Athlone. A Commission granted by the King to secure forfeited Goods. Wexford secured. Clonmell quitted. Waterford, and Dungannon-Fort surrendered to His Majesty. The King intends for England, and sends some Forces thither. But returns to the Camp. Limerick Besieged. Some of our Guns surprized. A Fort taken. An Attack upon the Town. Our men draw off. His Majesty raises the Siege, and returns to England.

ALL People were now big with hopes of His Majesty's coming for Ireland, who left Kensington the Fourth of June 1690. took Shipping at Hylake on the 12th; and on the 14th, being Saturday, he landed about Four in the Afternoon at Carifergus; from whence, being upon the Road to Belfast, he was met by the General, Major-General Kirk, and a great many more Officers of the Army that were there, expecting His Majesty's Landing: And that Evening landed his Highness Prince George, the Duke of Ormond, Earl of Oxford, Earl of Portland, Earl of Scarborough, Earl of Manchester, my Lord Overkirk, my Lord Sidney, with a great many other Persons of Quality, some of them Officers

Officers in the Army, and others *Voluntiers*. The two following days His Majesty was attended by most of the Nobility, Clergy, and other Gentlemen inhabiting that part of the Kingdom. He was presented also with an Address from the Episcopal Clergy, and another from several Presbyterian Ministers, both which His Majesty received very graciously.

The King stayed at *Belfast* till *Thursday* the 19th; and having set out a Proclamation to encourage all People, of what Persuasion soever, to live peaceably at home, His Majesty went to *Hillsborough*, giving Orders for his Army to take the Field. And on the 22th His Majesty Encamp't at *Loughbritland* with that part of the Army which had their Rendezvouz there, and never laid out of the Camp (except upon his Journey from *Carick* to *Dublin*), after that, during his stay in *Ireland*. That Morning a Party of Two hundred Foot and Dragoons going from *Newry* towards *Dundalk* to discover the Enemy (who ere this had taken the Field, and then lay encamped there) our men fell into an Ambuscade of about Four hundred of the *Irish*, at a narrow Pass upon a Bog, nigh a place called the *Four-mile House*, by which we lost Twenty two of our Party, and Captain *Farlow*, with another Officer, were taken Prisoners, but the Enemy did not gain much by this Attempt, for they lost more in number than we did. Captain *Farlow* was the first who gave the Late King a certain Account of King *William's* being in *Ireland*, for till then he would not believe it.

All our Army
takes the
Field.

June the 27th, our whole Army joined at *Dundalk*, making in all about Thirty six thousand, though the World called us at least a third part more: The *Irish*, at our approach hither, had removed to the *Boyn*; And on *Sunday* the 29th, our Army marched beyond

1690.

The Army
marches to
the Boyne.

Ardee, which the Enemy had fortified much after the same manner as they had done Dundalk; and early next morning our whole Army moved toward the Boyne, making their Approaches very finely. After some time His Majesty sent down small Parties of Horse to discover the Ways, and then rid towards the Pass at Old Bridge, having a full view of the Enemy's Camp as he went along; His Majesty stopt some time at Old Bridge to observe the Enemy's Posture, and then going a little further, His Majesty alighted to refresh himself, and sate nigh an hour upon the Gras; during which time the Enemy brought down two Field-pieces under Covert of a small Party of Horse, and planted them at the Corner of a Hedge undiscovered; and when His Majesty, the Prince, and the rest were mounted again, and riding softly the same way back, their Cannonier let fly, and at the second Shot was so near the killing His Majesty, as that the Bullet slanted upon his Right Shoulder, took away a piece of his Coat, and struck off the Skin; which might have been a fatal Blow to his Army, and Kingdoms too, if the Great Creator of the World, who orders and governs all things, had not been at his Right Hand, where he always is, and, I hope, will be, as well for the defence of His Majesty's Sacred Person, as the good of those he has undertaken to protect.

The Enemy then fired those two Pieces as fast as they could charge and discharge, doing some damage amongst our Horse that were drawing up before them, which made the King give Orders for his Horse to rein a little backwards, and have the advantage of a Rising Ground between them and the Cannon.

About Three a Clock in the Afternoon some of our Field-pieces came up, which were immediately planted, and then played into the Enemy's Camp: the rest

of

His Majesty's
narrow Escape
from a Great
Shot.

of the day was spent in our Army's Encamping, and in firing Great Guns one upon another from several Batteries, without any extraordinary loss 1690.

Whether His Majesty had already an Account of what had happened to the Confederate Army at *Flerus*, I am not able to give an Account; but it's probable he had some intimation of it; since in a Council of War held that night, His Majesty seemed positive in passing the River next day, and therefore gave Orders for his Army to be ready accordingly.

The late King had likewise another Council of War on his side the River, wherein all the *French* and *Irish* Officers agreed, (which was the only time they ever did so before or after), Not to give us Battel, but to march off in the night, and then retreat towards *Athlone* and *Limerick* filling all their Towns that were tenable, as they went, with sufficient Garisons to defend them. And their reason was this; as soon as Sir *Cloudsley Shovel* with his Squadron of Men of War had seen the King safe in *Ireland*, he was ordered to sail immediately, and join my Lord *Torrington*, then at Sea with the *English* Fleet; which the *French* having notice of, and that all our Transport-Ships with our Provisions and other Necessaries for War, were left at *Carifergus-Bay* with little or no Convoy, and would have Orders to coast along as the Army marched, they resolved to send Ten small Frigats and Twelve Privateers into the Channel, and burn all our Ships; which if it had been done then, our Communication from *England* had been in a manner cut off, and our Army forced to subsist upon the Countrey, or starve; at least we had been debarred those Necessaries, without which the War could not have been carried on: This Design of the *French* was not unknown to the King, and therefore he was the more earnest

1690. earnest in going forward: It was advised therefore in the *Irish* Camp, That seeing we had a better Army by much in the Field than theirs (and might probably beat them if they engaged), to march away, and so protract the time till they saw what became of the Design about burning our Ships, which they were confident would take effect. But the late King himself was very much bent upon fighting, alledging, That if he retreated with his Army, and left *Dublin* and other places to the Enemy, the *Irish*, who are soon disheartned, and only judge according to appearance, would all desert him by degrees; and then himself and those that stood by him, would be delivered up to the Mercy of the Enemy: So that seeing him in this humour, they were in hopes that a vigorous fit of Valour had seized him, and that he would next day play the Hero, in either Conquering Valiantly, or Dying Gloriously; and then having ordered the disposing of their Army, they concluded to stay and watch our motion.

The Battel at
the *Boyn*.

Tuesday the first of *July*, early in the morning, his Majesty sent Lieut. Gen. *Douglas*, my Lord *Portland*, my Lord *Overkirk*, and Count *Schonbergh*, with above Ten thousand Horse and Foot up the River, to pass towards the Bridge of *Slane*; which the Enemy perceiving, they drew out several Bodies of Horse and Foot towards their Left, in order to oppose us; our men however, marched over without any difficulty, being only charged by Sir *Neal O'Neal*'s Regiment of Dragoons, who were partly broke, and himself killed. Assoon as Lieutenant-General *Douglas* and his Party were got over, he sent an Express to his Majesty to give him an Account of it; who then order'd the *Dutch* Guards, two *French* Regiments, two *Inniskilling* Regiments, Sir *John Hammers*, and several others that lay most conve-

et

nassing the river
killinger's
& Count Nassau's
of our Horse

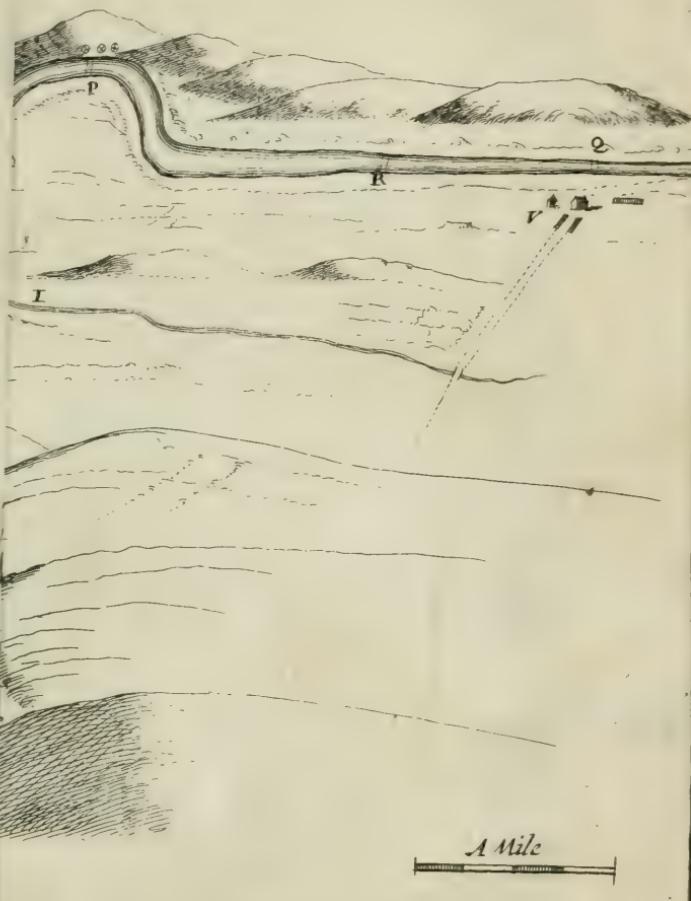
P Mills

Q Slaine bridge

R The place where the right wing of
our Horse passed the RiverS A hill from whence his Majesty first
saw the Irish Camp

T The Maine place of battle

V Slaine



The Battle at y^e Boyne

- A Drogheda
- B The Irish Army
- C Irish Batterys
- D Dunore
- E Bridge
- F The place where his Majesty was in danger of being killed

G The English Camp

H A small Village

I Mattock Rivelet

K Our Batterys

L The blew dutch passing the river

M French and Inskillingers

N S^r Joⁿ Hammers & Count Nassaus

O The left Wing of our Horse

P Mills

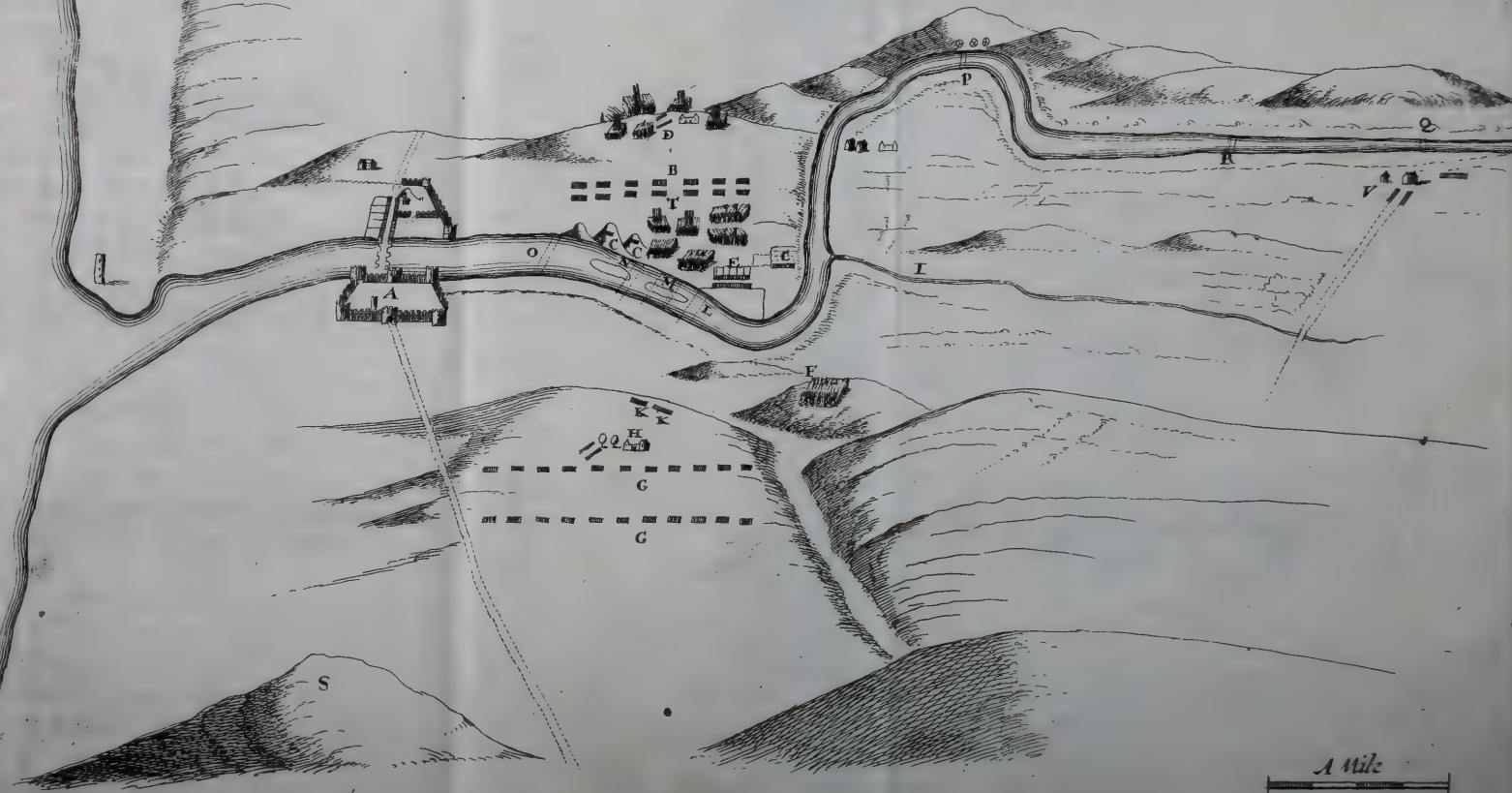
Q Slaine bridge

R The place where the right wing of our Horse passed the River

S A hill from whence his Majesty first saw the Irish Camp

T & Maine place of battle

V Slaine



1690.

convenient for that Ground, to pass the River, and Attack the *Irish* on the other side, which they did with a great deal of Bravery and Resolution, first beating the *Irish* from their Hedges and Breast-works at *Old Bridge*, and then routing the Duke of *Berwick's* Troop of Guards, my Lord *Tyrconnel's*, and Collonel *Parker's* Horse, who all behaved themselves like men of *English* Extraction, as indeed most of them were; during which time his Majesty passed the River below with the Left Wing of his Horse, and charged the Enemy several times at the Head of his own Troops, nigh a little Village called *Dunore*, where they rallied again, and gave us two or three brisk Attacks; but in less than half an hour were broke, and forced to make the best of their way towards *Duleek*, where there was a considerable Pass, and whither the other part of the *Irish* Army that faced Lieutenant General *Douglaff*, had made what haste they could, when they heard how it had gone with their Friends at *Old-Bridge*; our Army then pressed hard upon them, but meeting with a great many difficulties in the Ground, and being obliged to pursue in Order, our Horse had only the opportunity of cutting down some of their Foot, and most of the rest got over the Pass at *Duleek*; then night coming on, prevented us from making so entire a Victory of it as could have been wished for.

On the *Irish* side were killed my Lord *Dungan*, my Lord *Carlingford*, Sir *Neal O Neal*, with a great number of other Officers, and about Thirteen or Fourteen hundred Soldiers; and we lost on our side nigh Four hundred; but the loss of Duke *Schonberg*, who was killed soon after the first of our Forces passed the River, near the little Village called *Old-Bridge*, was much more considerable than all that fell that day on both

The number
of the Dead.

1690. both sides; whom his very Enemies always called a Brave Man, and a Great General; whose Name will make a considerable Figure in History, whilst there are such places as *Germany*, *Flanders*, *France*, *England*, and *Ireland*. Monsieur *Callimot*, a brave and worthy Gentleman, died soon after him, of his Wounds, having followed that great man in most of his Fortunes; whose elder Brother the Marques *Ruvigny* had Duke *Schonberg*'s Regiment of *French Horse* bestowed upon him by the King. For the further Particulars of this Battel, and what hapned during the preceding Campaign, and also the most material Circumstances of this, I refer the Reader to the First Part of this History, already printed.

Some will pretend to say, That his Majesty was a little too soon in the passing his Foot over the River, for the Left Wing of the *Irish Army* seemed resolved to fight *Douglass*; but when they heard how things went at *Old-Bridge*, they retreated immediately towards *Duleek*, and so marched off untouched: But there was a very good reason for what his Majesty did in this case, for it was about a quarter past Ten when our Foot first entred the River; and if the King had deferred it an hour longer, then the Tide, which generally comes up above *Old-Bridge*, would certainly have prevented our men from passing either there or below; so that the Right Wing of our Army had been exposed to the hazard of fighting all theirs, and the rest not able to come to their relief, till possibly it had been too late; and this may serve to answer whatever can be objected in that case.

The late King at the beginning of this Battel stood by an old Church near the Village called *Dunore*; but assoon as he saw his men give way, he made haste to *Duleek*, and from thence to *Dublin*, whither he

he got that Evening by Nine a Clock, and early next morning sent for the Popish Lord-Mayor, with some other Officers of the City, and gave them a charge not to burn it; and then going towards *Bray*, scarce looked behind him afterwards till he got to *Waterford*, and so on Ship-board for *Frince*, leaving his poor *Teagues* to fight it out, or do what they pleased for him: And what was more remarkable, finding some of the Frigats at *Waterford* that were to go upon the Project of Burning our Ships, he told them all was lost, and that it was past time, and so took them along with him; which prevented any further Attempts upon our Ships. Whilst his present Majesty King *William* gave his Army other kind of Proofs both of his Courage and Conduct, having a Soul far above Fear, or any thing that may look mean in so Great a Prince: Nor ever had an Army a more entire Affection for their chief Commander, than his Majesty's for him; his Resolution being always undaunted, and their only Fear being for his Majesty's Person. And whatever difference happens hereafter between his Majesty and his Army, can only be this, That they desire to stand between his Person and all Danger, but he always has a mind to put himself between them and it. May we long therefore have such a General in a King; and he not only Soldiers but Subjects too of all other Professions, that honour him to that degree.

Those of our *English* Forces that were engaged, and had opportunity to shew themselves, gave signal demonstrations of their Courage and Bravery; the *Inniskillers*, and *French* too, both Horse and Foot, did good service; and the *Dutch* Guards deserve no small Honour for their Conduct that day.

1690.

After the Battel, our Army lay upon their Arms all night at *Duleek*, having left our Tents all standing beyond the *Boyne*: And next morning his Majesty sent Brigadier *La Mellionere*, with One thousand Horse and Dragoons, a Party of Foot, and Eight Pieces of Cannon, to summons *Drogheda*, wherein the *Irish* had a Garison of about 1300 men, commanded by my Lord *Iveagh*, who surrendred the Town, upon Condition, That his Garison shou'd have leave to march out without their Arms, and be conducted to *Athlone*: Tho their Barbarity in tying the Protestants in Town back to back, and placing them where they expected our Guns to play, ought not to be forgot. This is a Town of no great strength, only a Mount whereon are planted Ten Guns on the South-side the River, seems capable of Defence.

Thursday the 3d. of July, his Majesty had an Account, That the *Irish* had left *Dublin*, and were making what haste they could towards the *Shannon*; upon which the Duke of *Ormond* marched to that City, with One thousand Horse, and found Captain *Farlow* Governor of the Castle, who two days before had been a Prisoner; his Grace took possession of all the Out-Guards of the Town with his Horse, and the Dutch Blue Guards were sent to the Castle. The 5th. our Army marched to *Finzells*, a little Village two miles to the North west of *Dublin*, where we lay encam-ed for several days. The 6^h being Sunday, his Majesty went to St. *Patric's* Church in *Dublin*; and next day towards the evening, the Bishop of *Meath*, the Bishop of *Limerick*, Dr. *King*, and all the Clergy then about *Dublin* (except the Lord Primate, who sent his Excuse to his Majesty, by reason of his great Age and Infirmitness) waited upon the King at his Camp, where the Bishop of *Meath* made an excellent

Con-

His Majesty
with his Ar-
my marches
to *Dublin*.

Congratulatory Speech, for his Majesty's happy Victory, and their Deliverance: Whereunto his Majesty gave a Gracious Answer. And the Bishop of Limerick desired they might appoint a Day of Publick Thanksgiving, and have leave to Compose a Form of Prayer suitable to the occasion; which was granted.

The same day his Majesty signed a Declaration, His Majesty's Declaration to the Irish. wherein he promised Protection to all poor Labourers, common Soldiers, Country-Farmers, Plow-men and Coltiers; as also to all Citizens, Tradesmen, Townsmen, and Officers, who either remained at home or having fled from their Dwellings, should return by the first of *August* following, &c. leaving all others to the Event of War, unless by great and manifest demonstrations they would convince his Majesty that they deserved his Mercy, which he promised never to refuse to those who were truly penitent.

A great many of the *Irish* Officers complained, The Irish Objections against the Declaration. That this Declaration was too narrow in excluding them from any Advantage by it; and that they were obliged afterwards to stick together, as being their only safety; but this Declaration was narrower than his Majesty's Royal Intentions, on purpose to comply with the *English* Proprietors of that Country: And as to the *Irish* Officers, this was only a pretence; for when it was enlarged afterwards by his Majesty, and the Government the year succeeding made them all the reasonable Proffers that could be hoped or wished for, yet most of them continued obstinate till they could not help it. But tho his Majesty was very careful to have this and his other Declaration that succeeded it, observed, yet some Officers and Soldiers were apt to forget the King's Honour, with that of our Country and Religion too, when they stood in competition with their own Profit and Advantage.

1690.
Our Army
mustered.

That day and the next his Majesty took a view of his Army by distinct Regiments; nor did the inconveniency of the bad Weather which fell out at that time, prevent him from observing each Regiment very nicely; the whole number of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons that marched in the Ranks was 30330, besides 483 Reformed Officers, as also all the Officers and Serjeants in the Army, and Four Regiments in Garrison; so that the compleat Number of our whole Army was at least 36000, as is said before. Nor will it be improper to give here a List of our General Officers, who commanded this Campaign under his Majesty, and were employed in his Service; but we must take it from the beginning, since his Grace Duke Schonberg was killed ere this.

A List of the General Officers of Their Majesties Army, 1690.

A List of their
Majesties Ar-
my, 1690.

F Rederick Duke of Schonberg, Captain General.
The Duke of Wirtenbergh, General of the Danes.

Count Solmes, General of the Foot.

Count Schonberg, General of the Horse.

Lieutenant-General Douglass.

Lord Overkirk, } Maistres Generals des Camp.
Earl of Portland,

Henry Lord Viscount Sidney, }
Count Nassau, } Major-Generals of Foot.
Major-General Kirk, }
Major-General Tetteau,

Monsieur

Monsieur *Screvenmore*, }
Maj. Gen. *La Forrest*, } Major-Generals of Horse.
Sir *John Lanier*,

Monsieur *Du Cambon*, Quarter-master-General.

Brigadier *Trelawney*, }
Sir *Henry Bellasis*, }
Sir *John Hinmer*, } Brigadiers of Foot.

Brigadier *Stuart*, }
Brigad. *La Mellionere*, }

Brigad. *Villars*, }
Brigad. *Eppinger*, } Brigadiers of Horse.
Brigad. *Schack*,

Sir *Robert Southwell*, Secretary of State.

Thomas Coningesby, Esq; (now Lord *Coningesby*) and
Charles Fox, Esq; Pay-masters-General.

Sir *John Topham*, Advocate-General.

Henry Wythers, Adjutant-General of Foot.

Francis Russel, Adjutant-General of Horse.

George Clark, Esq; Secretary at War.

Monsieur *Perara*, Commissary-General of the Provisions.

Abraham Yarner, Esq; Muster-master-General.

Dr. *Lawrence*, Physician-General.

Charles Thompson, Esq; Chyrurgion-General.

1690.

A List of the
Irish General
Officers.A CATALOGUE of the General Officers
and others in King James's Army; taken out
of the Muster-Rolls: June the 2d, 1690.

DUKE of Tyrconnel, Captain-General.

Duke of Berwick, } Lieutenant-Generals.
Richard Hambleton,

Count Lauzune General of the French.

Monsieur Leary, alias Geraldine, Lieutenant-General.

Dominick Sheldon, Lieutenant-General of the Horse.

Patrick Sarsfield, } Major-Generals.
Anthony Hambleton,
Monsieur Boiséleau,Thomas Maxwell, } Brigadeers.
John Hambleton,
William Dorrington,

Solomon Slater, Muster-master-General.

Robert Fitz-Gerald, Comptroller of the Musters.

Sir Richard Neagle, Secretary at War.

Sir Henry Bond, } Receivers General.
Louis Doe,

Sir Michael Creagh, Pay-master General.

Felix O'Neil, Advocate General.

Dr. Archbold, Physician to the State.

Patrick Archbold, Chyrurgeon General.

The *Irish* had at that time in their Army Two Troops of Horse-Guards, with another of Horse-Granadiers; Eight Regiments of Horse, Seven Regiments of Dragoons; a Regiment of Foot Guards of Twenty two Companies, and Ninety men in a Company; Forty four other Regiments of Foot, Thirteen Companies in a Regiment, and Sixty men in a Company, which with the Five thousand *French* Foot, made their Army, according to their own Computation of the Regiments, and the numbers in each, to be 39320 Foot, 3471 Horse, and 2480 Dragoons, which in all make an Army of 50271. besides their Rapparees in all the Corners of the Countrey; but these were all that they had to man the whole Garrisons of *Ireland*; so that they were not above 27000 at the *Boyn*, besides the *French*.

But to return. About the 8th or 9th of July it was known abroad, That His Majesty had an Account of the Misfortune of the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets, at which time he divided his Army, and marched himself towards *Kilkenny* with the greatest part of it. For though His Majesty was sensible, that going with his whole Army towards *Athlone*, and so into *Connaught*, was the readiest way to reduce the *Irish*; yet having some Reasons to apprehend that the *French*, after the Battel of *Flerus*, might send off Detachments from their Army, and so disturb *England*; or at least send part of their Fleet, and burn his Transport-Ships, he made hast to secure *Waterford* Haven for them, since the Bay of *Dublin* is no Place of safety. Sending at the same time Lieutenant-General *Douglas* with three Regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and ten of Foot, towards *Athlone*, Ffty miles to the Northwest from *Dublin*; before which Place he came on the 17th with the aforesaid Party, Twelve Field-pieces,

1690.

pieces, and two small Mortars: The *Irish* burnt and deferted that part of *Athlone* on *Leinster* side, the Bridge called the *English* Town: But seeing our Party, and our Train not suitable to such an Undertaking, and having three Regiments of Foot, nine Troops of Dragoons, and two of Horse, in, and about the Town, with a fresh supply of Forces not far off; they positively refused to deliver up the Place, which Lieutenant-General *Douglas* seeing no hopes of forcing them to, on *Friday* the 25th, early in the morning, he raised his Siege, and marched to join the King's Army again, having not lost above Thirty men before the place, but near Three hundred by Sicknes, and other Accidents. Our rising from before that Town did so puff up the *Irish*, that one *Malady*, the Late King's High Sheriff for the County of *Longford*, got at least Three thousand of the Rabble, or such like People together, near *Mullingar*, where they hectored and swaggered for some days; but Collonel *Woolfley* with his own Horse, and two Regiments of Foot, being sent back to secure that part of the Countrey, about Forty of his Horse, being an Advance Guard, fell in with a Party of the *Irish* towards the Evening, which giving the Alarm to the rest, they immediately began to disperse, and every man to shift for himself; and Night coming on, our Party had only the opportunity of killing about Thirty of them, High Sheriff *Malady* himself being wounded, and never since able to raise such another *posse Commitatus*.

But to return to His Majesty's Camp, which on the 9th, he pitched at a place called *Cromlin*, two miles to the West of *Dublin*, where the King settled the method of granting Protections according to his Declaration. A Commission on about Four hundred Goods. And then gave a Commission to *Francis*, Earl of *Long-*

Longford; Anthony Lord Bishop of Meath; Robert Fitz-Gerald, Esq.; Sir Henry Fane, Doctor Gorge, William Robinson, Esq.; Joseph Coghlain, Esq.; Edward Corker, Esq.; and Henry Davis, Esq.; or any five of them, to enquire into, seize, and secure all Forfeitures to the Crown by the General Rebellion of the *Irish* Nation: This Commission empowered them to appoint Deputies to summon and swear Witnesses, to call the Justices of the Peace, and Deputy-Lieutenants to their Assistance, to let Leases for a year, and in doubtful Cases, to consult the Judges learned in the Law; and this Power of theirs to continue until a more legal method could be put in practice when the Courts of Judicature were open. The Bishop of Meath, whether his Lordship was sensible of the Defect of the Commission at first, or else did not like the Proceedings of some of the rest, he soon forbore his attendance at their Meetings; but several of the rest proceeded in their Business, and took possession of Goods of all sorts, as well in the Hands of *Roman-Catholicks*, and on their Grounds, as in the hands of Protestants, where they had been left by their Catholick Neighbours; upon which account those Gentlemen had the misfortune to be much censured afterwards, as well by some in the Country, where they made Seisures, as by the Commissioners of Their Majesty's Revenue, who complained of the small Returns made into the Exchequer. This occasioned several of the above-named Gentlemen, who had been employed to make a representation of their Case afterwards to the Lords Justices, which I have seen, and it was to this effect: 'That amongst a great many Discouragements in so troublesome an Employment, their Commission it self was so defective,

1690.

alive, that it seemed a perfect Snare to them (contrary to the intent or Interest of His Majesty) in that it gave them power to seize upon all Forfeitures, but not to dispose of any (except of Lands by lease for a year) by which means, the Goods seized by the Commissioners, and their Deputies, were often either stole, or forced away, sometimes by the Army, and at other times by the Rapparees, after they had been at great charge about them. And a great many other things they have to say for themselves, by which it appears, that those Aspersions cast upon some of them were groundless though others of them, or where-ever the fault else laid; some, I say, there were who did Their Majesties Affairs no great Advantage, nor themselves much Credit by their management. But this being a matter of publick Concern, is none of my busines to look into.

Wexford secu-
red.

His Majesty then marched forwards, and from a Place called *Castledermot*, sent Brigadier *Eppinger* with a Party of One thousand Horse and Dragoons to secure *Wexford*, which before his Arrival was deserted by the *Irish* Garrison. The King all along upon his march was acquainted with the Disorders and Confusion of the *Irish* Army, and of their speedy marches to *Limerick*, and other Strong Holds. The 19th His Majesty dined at *Kilkenny*, a Walled Town, wherein stands a Castle belonging to the Duke of *Ormond*, which had been preserved by Count *Lauzan*, with all the Goods and Furniture. And next day His Majesty understood that the Enemy had quitted *Clonmel*, whether Count *Sconberg* marched with a Body of Horse.

Clonmel quit-
ted by the
Irish.

Monday

Monday the 21st, The Army marched to Carrick, where the King received an Account of the state of Waterford, and whither Major-General Kirk went next morning with a Party to summon the Town, wherein were two Regiments of the Irish, who submitted upon condition to march out with their Arms; As did also the strong Fort of Duncannon in a day or two after, which gave His Majesty sufficient shelter for all his Shipping. When Waterford was surrendered, His Majesty in Person went to view it; where he admitted my Lord Dover to a more particular Protection than ordinary, because he had applied himself formerly by a Letter to Major-General Kirk to desire a Pass for himself, and Family, to go into Flanders.

Waterford and
Duncannon
Fort surren-
dered.

His Majesty, at his return to the Camp, declared his Resolution to go for England, and leaving Count Solmes Commander in Chief; he went as far as Chappel-Izard, nigh Dublin; with that Intention; ordering one Troop of Guards, Count Sconberg's Horse (formerly my Lord Devonshires) Collonel Matthews's Dragoons, Brigadier Trelawny's, and Collonel Hastings's Foot, to be shipt off for that Kingdom. And on the first of August His Majesty published a Second Declaration, not only confirming and strengthening the former; but also adding, *That if any Foreigners then in Arms against him in that Kingdom would submit, they should have Passes to go into their own Countries, or whither else they pleased.*

The King in-
tends for Eng-
land.

And sends
some Forces
thither.

A Proclamation was also published for all the Irish in the Country to deliver up their Arms; and those

1690. who refused, or neglected, to be abandoned to the Discretion of the Soldiers. As also another Proclamation for a Weekly Fast. And then His Majesty appointed *Richard Pine, Esq;* *Sir Richard Reves,* and *Robert Rochfort, Esq;* Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, who began now to act accordingly.

But returns to
the Camp.

But the King received a further Account from *England*, That the loss at Sea was not so considerable as it was at first given out; and that there was no danger of any more *French* Forces landing in that Kingdom; they having already burnt only a small Village, and so were gone off without doing any further damage. The danger of that being therefore over, His Majesty returned to the Army, which he found encamped at *Golden Bridge*, nigh *Cashell*, and about seventeen miles from *Limrick*, where His Majesty had intelligence of the Posture of the Enemy in, and about that City.

Limerick Be-
sieged.

August the 8th, Lieutenant General *Douglas*, and his Party from *Athlone*, joined the King's Army at *Carriganlis*. And on the 9th, the whole Army approached that strong Hold of *Limerick* without any considerable loss, the greatest part of their Army being Encampt beyond the River, in the County of *Clare*. His Majesty, as soon as his Army was posted, sent a Summons to the Town, which was refused to be obeyed by *Monsieur Boisdeau*, the Duke of *Berwick*, *Sarsfield*, and some more, though a great part of their Army were even then willing to Capitulate. Next Morning early the King sent a Party of Horse and Foot under Major-General *Ginckell*, and Major-General *Kirk*, to pass the River, which they did near Sir

Sir *Samuel Foxon's* House, about two miles above the *1690*.
Town.

The same day, some Deserters from the Enemy gave his Majesty an account of their Circumstances; and one of our own Gunners did as much for us, who informed the Enemy of our Posture in the Camp, as also of Eight Pieces of Cannon, with Ammunition, Provisions, the Tin-Boats, and several other Necessaries then upon the Road, which *Sarsfield* with a Party of Horse and Dragoons had the luck to surprize two ^{Some of our} days after at a little old Castle called *Ballyneddy*, with <sup>Guns surpriz-
ed,</sup> in seven miles of our Camp, killing about Sixty of the Soldiers and Waggoners, and then marched off with little or no opposition, tho his Majesty had given Orders for a Party of Horse to go from the Camp and meet the Guns the night before.

Tuesday the 12th. Brigadier *Stuart* went with a Party and four Field-Pieces to *Castle Connel*, a Strong-hold ^{taken} upon the *Shannon*, four miles from *Limerick*, the besieged being 126, under one Captain *Barnwell*, after some time submitted, and were brought Prisoners to the Camp.

Sunday the 17th. at night, we opened our Trenches, Our Trenches which were mounted by Seven Battalions under the ^{opened.} Duke of *Wurtenbergh*, Major-General *Kirk*, Major-General *Tetteau*, and Sir *Henry Bellasis*, beating the *Irish* out of a Fort nigh two old Chimneys, where about Twenty were killed; and next night our Works were relieved by Lieutenant General *Douglas*, my Lord *Sidney*, Count *Nassau*, and Brigadier *Stuart*, with the like number; and the day following, we planted some new

1690.

new Batteries; which his Majesty going to view, as he was riding towards Ireton's Fort, he stopt his Horse on a sudden to speak to an Officer, a Four and twenty pound Ball the very moment grazing on the side of the Gap where his Majesty was going to enter, which certainly must have dash'd him to pieces, had not the commanding God of Heaven prevented it, who still reserves him for greater matters. This I saw, being then upon the Fort, as I did that other Accident at the Boyne before.

A Fort taken. *Wednesday the 20th.* we attack'd a Fort of the Enemies nigh the *South East* Corner of the Wall, which we soon took, and killed 50, taking a Captain and twelve men Prisoners; and about an hour after, the Enemy sallyed with great Bravery, thinking to regain the Fort, but were beat in with loss, there being killed in the Fort and the Sally about Three hundred, though we lost Captain *Needham*, Captain *Lacy*, and about Eighty private men.

We continued battering the Town, throwing in Bombs and Carcasses till *Wednesday the 27th.* when a considerable Breach being made, Five hundred Grenadiers, supported by Seven Regiments of Foot, and all our Works double manned, were ordered to attack the Counterscarp, and lodge themselves as conveniently as they could thereabouts. Between three and four in the Afternoon, the Signal being given, our men attack'd the Enemy very briskly, beating them from their Works, and so over the Breach into the Town; but several of them pursuing too far, and the rest not seconding them, as having no Orders to go any further, the *Irish* also seeing themselves pursued by so

An Attack
made upon
the Town.

small

five ... ~~the~~, the last of August, all our His Majesty's Army drew off; most of the Protestants that lived in that part of the Countrey taking that opportunity of removing.

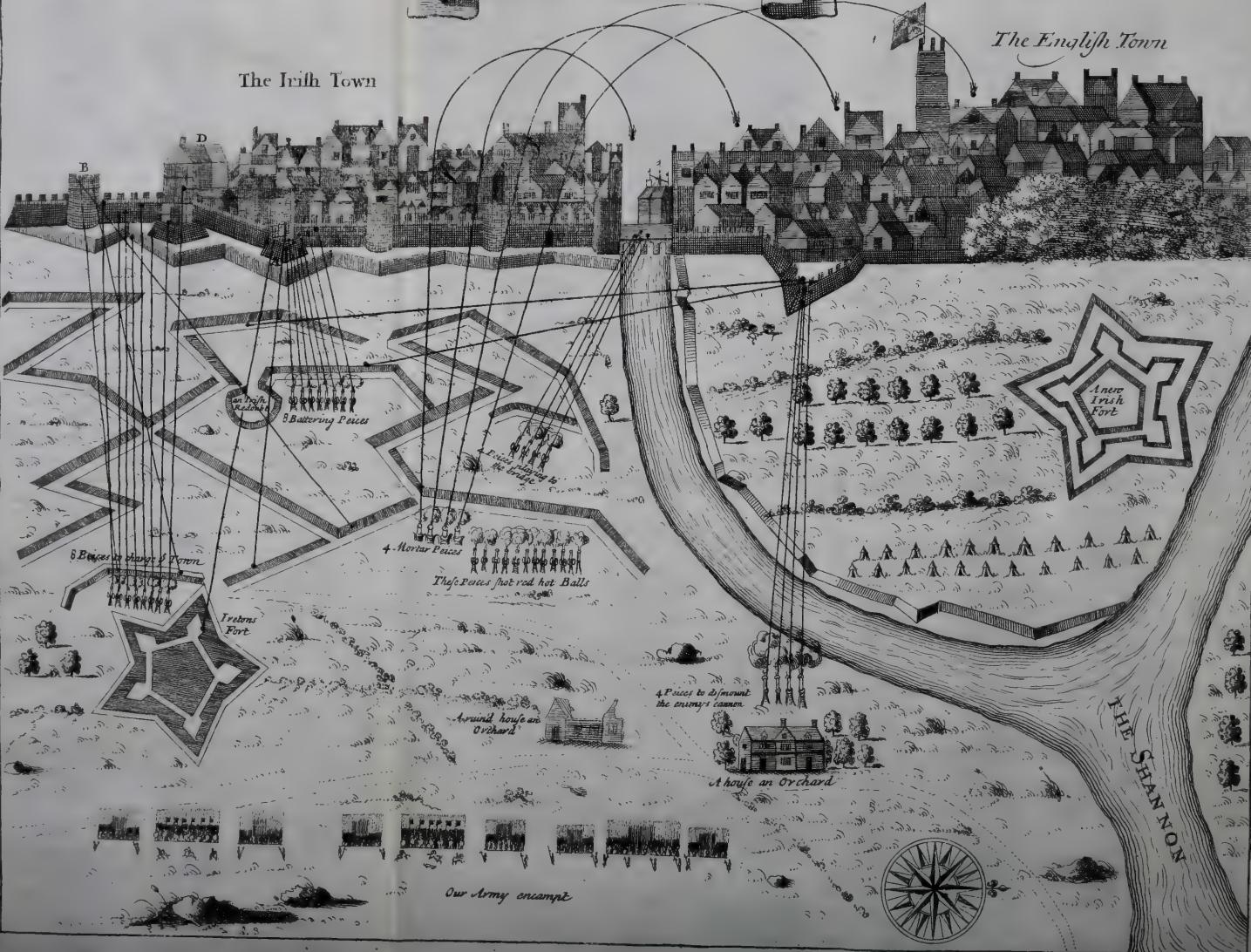
A a fort of 6 Gunnes
 B a round Tower with 3 Gunnes
 C a Sally Port
 D the Gate houses

A PROSPECT of LIMERICK
 BEARING DUE WEST

Exact showing of Gunnes Batteries & Breach &c
 Sold by R. Chapman in St Pauls churchyard

The Irish Town

The English Town



small a number, they were persuaded to face about, and out-numbering our poor men they killed a great many of them ; fresh Regiments also coming from beyond the River, and all together adventuring upon the Walls ; our men below having likewise no cover, after a Dispute of three hours and an half (in which time there was nothing but one continued Fire of Great and Small-shot) our men were obliged to re-
 turn back to their own Trenches again, having lost ^{Our men draw off.} 15 Officers, (besides the Foreigners, and those of the Grenadiers) about 50 wounded, 500 men killed, and near One thousand wounded, whereof greatest part recovered ; tho I'm apt to think the *Irish* did not lose so many, since it's a much easier thing to defend Walls, than by plain strength to force people from them.

Next day the Soldiers were in hopes that his Majesty would give orders for a second Attack ; and seemed resolved to have the Town, or lose all their lives ; but this was too great a risque to run at one place ; and they did not know how our Ammunition was funk, especially by the former day's work ; we continued however our Batteries ; and then a storm of Rain and other bad weather begun to threaten us, which fell out on *Friday* the 29th. in good earnest ; upon which his Majesty calling a Council of War, it was concluded the safest way was to quit the Siege, without which we could not have secured our heavy Cannon, which we drew off from the Batteries by degrees, and found much difficulty in marching them five miles next day. *Sunday* the last of *August*, all our Army drew off ; most of the Protestants that lived in that part of the Countrey taking that opportunity of removing

His Majesty
raised the
Siege.

1690. removing further into the Countrey with the Army ; and would rather leave their Estates and all their Substance in the Enemies hands , than trust their persons any more in their power.

His Majesty seeing the Campaign nigh an end, went towards Waterford , where he appointed Henry Lord Viscount Sidney , Sir Charles Porter , and Tho. Connings-
by, Esq; Lords Justices of Ireland ; and then setting sail with a fair Wind for England , his Majesty was welcomed thither with all the Joy and Satisfaction imaginable.

And returns
to England.

C H A P.

September,
1690.

C H A P. III.

The French Forces quit Ireland. Birr besieg'd by the Irish ; who draw off towards Banoher Bridge. Count Solms's Answer to the Duke of Berwick's Letter. Lieutenant-General Ginckel made Commander in Chief of the Army. Lords-Justices begin their Government. The Earl of Marlborough sent with a Fleet into Ireland. Cork and Kinsale taken. The Irish make Attempts upon our Frontiers. Part of our Army move towards the Shannon. Rapparees in the Bog of Allen : Those People serviceable to the Irish Interest, and how. My Lord Tyrconnel returns from France. Sarsfield made Earl of Lucan. The Irish defeated at the Mote of Greenoge. Several Adventures with the Rapparees, and Parties of the Irish Army. Some of our Regiments take the Field at Mulingar.

ON the sixth of September our Army marched to Tipperary, about fourteen Miles from Limerick, where they began to disperse towards their respective Quarters. And we had an Account by some Deserters, that my Lord Tyrconnel and all the French Forces were Ship'd off at The French
leave Ireland. Galway for France. The reason of this was also enquired after by a great many ; that the French shou'd absolutely quit Ireland, at a time when we had raised our Siege, which might have given them hopes of re-gaining the next Year what they lost this ; at least, to defend the Province of Connaught against us, and so protract the War beyond what they cou'd have hoped for if the Town had been taken ; and that if the want of Provisions was an Objection, it was easier to carry those to the Men than bring the Men to their Provisions. But the reason that I have heard given for their departure was, That the late

September, King appearing very unexpectedly in *France*, at a time when
 1690. all People were over-joyed with the News of the Battel of
Flerus won at Land, and a Victory also gained at Sea; to palliate
 matters therefore as to himself, he laid all the blame upon
 the *Irish*, - that they wou'd not fight, but many of them laid
 down their Arms in such order, as if they had been Exercising; which indeed some of them did: Upon which, the Fr. K. concluding that all was lost in that Kingdom, he sent Orders to Count *Lanzun* to make the best of a bad Market, and so come off for *France* as well as he could, with all his Men. But the *Irish*, taking heart of grace at our Fleets and the *Dutch* Armies misfortunes, they held out beyond expectation: And those Orders of the *French* Kings, not coming till after His Majesty had raised the Siege of *Limerick*, Count *Lanzun* waited about twelve Days for a Countermand; but that not appearing he set sail for *France*, tho' he met with contrary Orders at Sea; but then it was too late: For His Majesty had been a Fortnight at *London* before they heard at *Paris* that the Siege of *Limerick* was raised; which shewed, that whatever good Intelligence they might have from *England* or *Ireland* at other times, they wanted it now; but whether the Wind was croſs, or what else was the reason, I am uncertain.

About the fourteenth we heard that *Sarsfield*, with a part of the *Irish* Army, had marched over the *Shannon* at *Banoker-Bridge*, and besieged the Castle of *Birr*, wherein was only a Company of Colonel *Tiffin*'s Foot, who stoutly defended the Castle, the only tenible place; but Major-General *Kirk* marching thither with a part of our Army, the Enemy quitted the Siege and marched off.

At this time Count *Soims*, who commanded in Chief, was at *Cashel*, where he received a Letter by a Trumpeter from the Duke of *Berwick*, then at *Limerick*, complaining that they heard of a Design of ours, to send all those Prisoners, we had taken at several places, to be Slaves in the

*Birr besieged
by the Irish.*

the Foreign Plantations; and withal, threatening ours with the French Gallies. But this was only a trick of the Irish Officers themselves, to prevent their Soldiers from deserting, making them believe there was a Contract to sell them all to Monsieur Perara the Jew for so much Bread, (which made the name of the Jew very terrible to the Irish.) But this was a mere Story of their own framing; and therefore Count Solms sent the following Answer to the Duke's Letter.

Henry Count de Solms, General of Their Majesties Army in their Kingdom of Ireland.

Count Solms's Answer to the Duke of Berwick's Letter.
Having never before heard of a Design, to send those Numbers of your Men we have Prisoners, to the Foreign Plantations, we detained your Trumpeter here for some Days, in hopes we might have been able to trace this Report which you send us word is spread about of such our Intentions; but no enquiry we have made, giving us the least light therein, we have reason to think, that neither those Prisoners we have of yours need fear so long a Voyage, nor those few of ours in your hands be apprehensive of yielding a small Recruit to the French King's Gallies: However, we think fit to declare, that your Men shall severely feel the effects of any ill usage you shall offer to ours; for which they may reckon themselves obliged to their Generals. Given at our Head-Quarters, at Cashel, the 21st. Day of September, 1690.

To the Duke of Berwick, or the Officer in Chief, commanding the Enemies Forces.

Soon after this, Count Solms went for England, and the Baron de Ginckel was made Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of the Army, who went to his Head-Quarters at Kilkenny.

Towards the middle of September, Henry Lord Viscount Sidney, and Thomas Coningesby, Esquire, two of the Lords-

Lieutenant-General Ginckel made Commander in Chief.

September, Justices, went to *Dublin*, where they took the usual Oaths of Chief Governors of that Kingdom, before the Commissioners of the Great Seal; and immediately begun their work of putting the Country in as good a condition of Safety as the nature of the times would bear.

Whilst the King was employed in the Field with his Army against the Town of *Limerick*, it was first proposed by the Earl of *Nottingham*, to my Lord *Marlborongh*, and afterwards approved of in Council, as very Advantageous to Their Majesties Affairs, to send a Party from *England*, who, joyning with a Detachment from the King's Army, might reduce those two important Garrisons of *Cork* and *Kinsale*; and provisions were made accordingly: But not being ready so soon as was designed, His Majesty, upon His return for *England*, sent the Earl of *Marlborough* with his own Regiment of Fusiliers; Brigadier *Trelawny's*, Princess *Ann's*, Colonel *Hastings's*, Colonel *Hales's*, Sir *David Collier's*, Colonel *Fitz-Patrick's*, one hundred of the Duke of *Bolton's*, and two hundred of the Earl of *Monmouth's*, with my Lord *Torrington's* and Lord *Pembroke's* Marine Regiments.

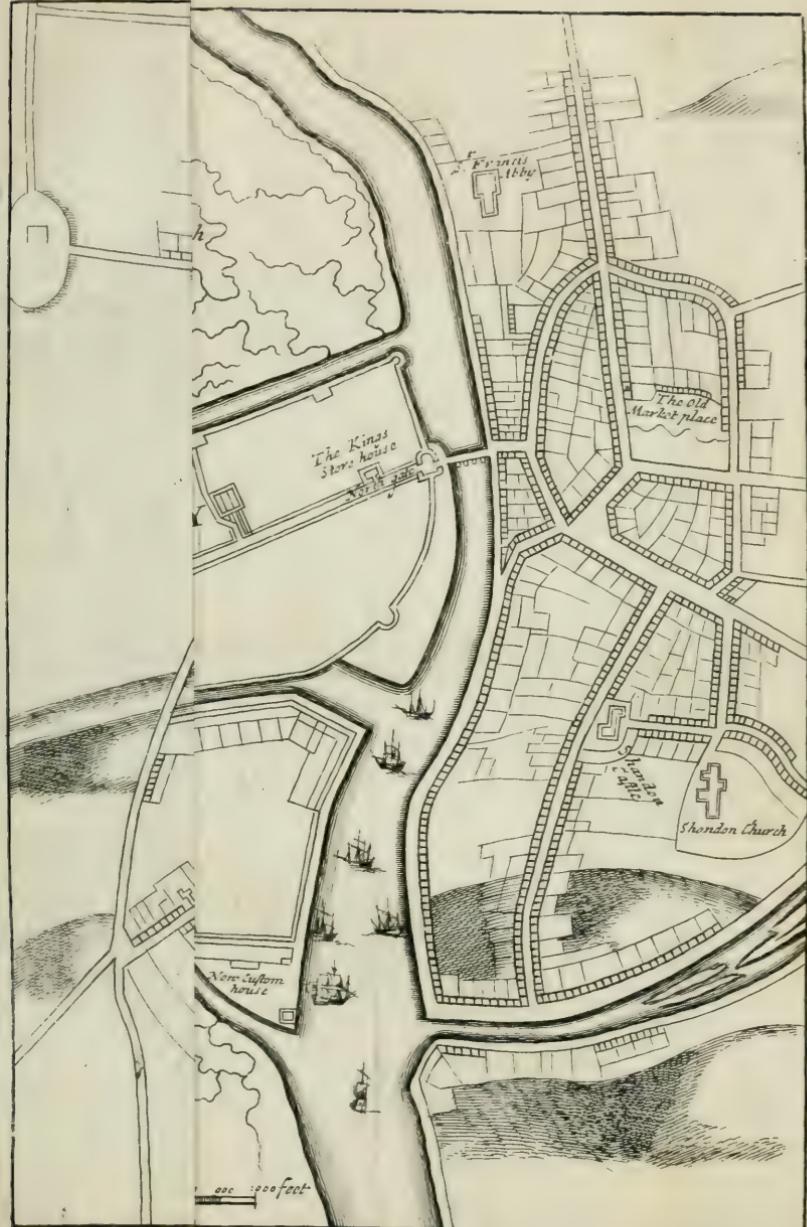
September the 22d. my Lord *Marlborough* landed some Men in Boats near *Cork*, where they beat the Enemy from a Battery that disturbed our Ships, and forced the *Irish* to leave their Guns behind them. An Express was sent to Major-General *Scravemore*, then on his march with a Body of Horse; and, after that, another to the Duke of *Württemberg*, who both in a few Days joyned my Lord *Marlborough* with about fifteen hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot. The Town of *Cork* held out till the 28th. being five Days, and then the Garrison, about four thousand five hundred, submitted to be all Prisoners of War; amongst whom were the Earls of *Clancarty* and *Tyrone*; Colonel *Mackellicut* the Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel *Ricat*, &c. The Duke of *Grafton* received a mortal Wound

Earl of Marlborough sent into Ireland.

Cork surrendered to him.

The Lords Justices go to Dublin.

1690.





Wound in our last approach, of which he died in few ^{September,} Days. Then my Lord Marlborough, first sending Brigadier ^{1690.} *Fillers* with a Party of Horse to Invest *Kinsale*, he marched himself with his Army, on the Second of *October*, encamping near the new Fort, (the Town being deserted by the *Irish.*) And next Morning early, Major-General *Tuiteau*, with 800 Men, passed the River in Boats, and stormed the old Fort, (formerly called *Castle nigh Park.*) wherein were about four hundred and fifty, nigh half of whom were killed and blown up, and the rest submitting at discretion, were made Prisoners. Then his Lordship sent a Summons to the new Fort, which refusing to yield, our Guns were planted in two places; the *Danes* on the left, and the *English* on the right. On the 5th of *October* the Trenches were opened, and the Fort held out till the fifteenth, when two Mines being sprung, and our Galleries ready to lay over the Ditch, the Enemy beat a Parley; and the Garrison (being about 1200) had liberty to march out, with ^{and surren-} ^{dred.} their Arms and Baggage, having a Party of Horse to conduct them to *Limerick.* In this Fort we found a very considerable Magazine, and great plenty of all sorts of Provisions: We had about 200 Men killed and wounded in our several Attacks, but a greater number sick, by reason of cold and bad Weather. However, the gaining those two Places, of *Cork* and *Kinsale*, was a piece of good service, and rendered the work of the succeeding Campaign much more easie. This some have look'd upon as one of the greatest blemishes in the *French* Politicks, that they should neglect the Fortifying of *Kinsale*, one of the best and surest Harbours in the World; and, by keeping of which, they might have ruined our Western Trade especially, and yet endeavour to fortifie *Limerick*, an Inland Town, of no use to them. All that can be said in this is, That they were once so good natur'd, as to comply with the *Irish* Interest, and neglect their own.

October,
1690.

The Irish
make some at-
tempts upon
our Quarters.

After the taking of those two Towns, the *Irish* that lay in the County of *Kerry* made several Incursions, and burnt some small Villages in the County of *Cork*: and near the same time, another Party burnt *Balliboy*, a Village 8 miles from *Birr*, wherein there was then six Companies of the Earl of *Drogheda*'s Regiment, who finding themselves very much outnumbred, and the Village no ways Tenable, they retired all to a Mount nigh the middle of the same Village, which they defended till the *Irish* were obliged to quit the place, have killed us about 28, themselves leaving 16 dead upon the Streets, besides several more that were killed in Plundering the Houses. And several such Accidents hapned up and down the Kingdom, most of which are already related in the former part of this History.

But if I am not much mistaken, it was our Interest when we raised the Siege of *Limerick*, to secure most of the other Passes upon the *Shannon*; which had been no very difficult Task, before our Army was dispersed; there being a great many places very near the *Shannon*, more tenible than those we retired to seek further into the Country; which made the Line much longer, and consequently not so easily defended; besides a plentiful Country that would have been then in our Quarters, and the benefit of making Inroads into *Connaught* when we pleased. But instead of that, we left the Enemy all the Forts and Passes upon the *Shannon*; by which means they could not be kept in their own Province, tho' they could keep us out. But since this was either wilfully overseen, or else neglected by some Great Officers Commanding in those parts at first, the Government thought fit afterwards to Order, That all who expected Protection from them, should come within the places of *Castlehaven*, *Mackroom*, *Mallow*, *Ballybally*, *Fermoy*-*Bridge*, *Caperquin*, *Cahir*, *Golden*-*Bridge*, *Castell*, *Thurles*, *Roscreagh*, *Birr*, *Mullingar*, *Longford*, *Castleforbus*, *Finuah*, *Caran*, *Belturbet*, *Inniskilin*,

Our Frontier
Line.



THE OCEAN

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d Viscount My Lord Sir-
of State for ney goes for
England.



lin, Balleck, and Ballyshannon, those being appointed our December, Frontier Garrisons; all without which places was reckoned beyond the Line, and in the Enemies Quarters. 1690.

Towards the beginning of December, his Majesty, for the better ordering the Affairs of that Kingdom, appointed a Privy-Council, and gave out new Commissions to supply the places of several Judges, as yet awanting in the respective Courts of Judicature.

But though the Irish in and about Limerick, and indeed in most other places within their Line, were reduced to great necessities, both as to Provisions and Cloaths; yet this did not prevent them from having a very good opinion of themselves, nor blunt the Edge of that Vain-glorious Boasting, so peculiar to that sort of People, as may appear by a pretended Declaration of the then Brigadier Dorington's, who after several invective Expressions against his Majesty and the English Government, and Wheedling Insinuations to all Foreigners and others, who he pretends were drawn in at unawares, he promises to protect, and receive into Pay all Officers or Souldiers that would forsake their Majesties Service, and advance them according to their Merit; or those that had no mind to serve, should be Transported into France, having all necessary Accommodation, and be provided for in the mean time. Dated at Limerick the 13th. of December, 1690. and Signed W. Dorington.

But this worthy Declaration had no other effect than to shew the folly and vanity of the Publisher; only I cannot but observe what a scury Return those Officers and Souldiers of King William's, to whom he addresses himself, made him for his kind proffer; since instead of going to him for his Pass into France, they soon after sent his Worship himself Prisoner into England.

Monday the 15th. of December, Henry Lord Viscount Sidney being appointed one of the Secretaries of State for England, My Lord S^t.
Sidney goes for England.

December, England, set Sail for that Kingdom: And on the 24th. 1690. Sir Charles Porter, another of the Lords-Justices, came from thence, being Sworn Lord Chancellour of Ireland on the 25th. and then received the Purse and Great Seal from the late Commissioners.

Part of our Forces move towards the Shannon.

We had now a part of our Army on their March towards *Lanesborough* Pass, Commanded by Major General *Kirk* and Sir *John Lanier*: Lieutenant General *Douglas* was also upon his March towards *Sligoe*, as was Major General *Tetteau* in *Munster*, towards the County of *Kerry*: The first Detachment beat the *Irish* from their Works on this side the River; and staying there some time, returned to Quarters, as did also Lieutenant General *Douglas*. Major General *Tetteau* Marched towards *Ross*, taking a Fort called *Screnelarld*, in his way; after which the *Irish* set most of the Country on Fire, and retreated: He took also another Fort, wherein were 80 of the *Irish*, who being attacked by fifty *Danes*, and fifty of the *Kinsale* Militia, our Men carried the place, and put most of the Enemy to the Sword. Then our Party Marched towards *Tralee*, where Lieutenant General *Sheldon* had been with 21 Troops of Dragoons and 7 of Horse, but with his Men had deserted the Town, and made what haste they could towards *Limerick*, resolving to force their way through Lieutenant General *Ginckel*'s Troops, (who then was abroad also with a Party) if they were not very much stronger, or otherways to kill all their Horses and save themselves, by crossing the *Shannon* in Boats: But not being informed of this, our Men returned without securing a considerable quantity of Provisions then in *Trallee*, which the *Irish* got afterwards to supply the Garrison of *Limerick*.

Rapparees in the Bogg of Allen.

The Rapparees by this time were got to the end of the Bogg of *Allen*, within 12 miles of *Dublin*, and there Robb'd and Plunder'd the Country all about, Fortifying an Island in the Bogg to secure their Prey, which being

so nigh *Dublin*, it made a great noise: So that Colonel *Foulks* with his own Regiment, part of Colonel *Cutts's*, and a Detachment of the *Dublin* Militia, as also three small Field-Pieces, Marched out towards them: The *Irish* at first seemed to defend the place; but as our Men advanced, they quitted their Posts, leaving us to fill up the Trenches they had made cross the Causeway; which done, Colonel *Foulks* Marched over into the Island of *Allen*, where he met with Colonel *Piper*, who had come in at the other side; but the *Irish* betook themselves to the Woods, and we only got some small Booty which they had left.

I have heard, that my Lord *Baltimore* at his coming over from *Ireland* in King *James* the First's time, to give his Majesty an account of the State of that Kingdom, amongst other things, told the King, *That the Irish were a wicked People, but had been as wickedly dealt withal*. I make no Applications of the Expression to our selves, tho' most people that have been in that Country know how to do it.

But as to any publick Action, little of moment hapned, for some time after we returned to our Winter Quarters, tho' the Rapparees, being encouraged by our withdrawing, were very troublesome all the Country over: nor will it be amiss, once for all, to give you a brief Account how the *Irish* managed this Affair, to make the Rapparees so Considerable as they really were; doing much more mischief at this time o'th' year, than any thing that had the face of an Army could pretend to. When the *Irish* understood therefore how our Men were Posted all along the Line, and what advantage might be hoped for at such and such places, they not only encouraged all the protected *Irish* to do us secretly all the mischief they could, either by concealed Arms, or private Intelligence, under the pretence of their being Plundered and abused; but they let loose a great part of their Army to manage the best for themselves, that time and opportunity would allow them: to all these they

Upon what account the Rapparees were serviceable to the *Irish*.

December, gave Passes, signifying to what Regiment they belonged, 1690. that in case they were taken, they might not be dealt withal as *Rapparees*, but *Souldiers*. These Men knew the Country, nay, all the secret Corners, Woods and Boggs; keeping a constant Correspondence with one another, and also with the Army, who furnished them with all necessaries, especially Ammunition: When they had any Project on Foot, their method was not to appear in a Body, for then they would have been discovered; and not only so, but Carriages and several other things had been wanting, which every one knows that's acquainted with this Trade: Their way was therefore, to make a private appointment to meet at such a Pass or Wood, precisely at such a time o'th' night or day as it stood with their conveniency; and tho' you could not see a Man over night, yet exactly at their hour, you might find three or four hundred, more or less, as they had occasion, all well Armed, and ready for what design they had formerly projected; but if they hapned to be discovered, or over-powered, they presently dispersed, having before-hand appointed another place of Rendezous, ten or twelve miles (it may be) from the place they then were at; by which means our Men could never fix any close Engagement upon them during the Winter; so that if they could have held out another year, the *Rapparees* would have continued still very prejudicial to our Army, as well by killing our Men privately, as stealing our Horses, and intercepting our Provisions. But after all, least the next Age may not be of the same humour with this, and the name of a *Rapparee* may possibly be thought a finer thing than it really is, I do assure you, that in my Sile they never can be reputed other than *Tories*, *Robbers*, *Thieves*, and *Bogg-trotters*.

The Insolence of those People however, in the Bogg of *Allen*, was curbed by Colonel *Foulks* and Colonel *Piper*, before their return, who kilied one *Gibney* a Captain, and several

several others: About which time, the King disposed of all the vacant Bishopricks, and other Ecclesiastical Preferments, void in *Ireland* since the death of King *Charles the Second*.

On the 14th. of *January*, about sixty of the Garrison of *Castle-Forbes*, in the County of *Longford*, with some of the Militia, passed the River *Shannon*, and burnt several places on the other side, bringing off a good Booty, without any loss. And seventeen Transport Ships, with two Men of War, were ordered from the Bay of *Dublin* towards *Kinsale*, to carry the Earl of *Marlborough*'s and Colonel *Fitz-Patrick*'s Regiments into *Flanders*, together with the Prisoners taken at *Cork* and *Kinsale*; thele having joyned some other Vessels, suffered much in their Voyage to *Flanders*, by reason of bad Weather, and some of them forced upon the Coast of *England*, one or two Ships being lost. And nigh the same time the *Dover* Frigat brought into *Kinsale*, a *French* Privateer of 22 Guns, and 10 Pettereroes, belonging to *St. Maloes*. Several Prisoners are now taken in scampering Parties, and some Deserters come in, who all give an account of the extraordinary scarcity of Provisions and other Necessaries amongst the *Irish*; tho' this was only true in part, for Prisoners will stretch to gain favour, and Deserters are commonly prejudiced; so that they make things as they would have it, or speak by hear-say, few of them telling any thing of their own knowledge; for before a Man deserts any side, he commonly converses with those that are most disaffected, and consequently least trusted; he comes off partial however; so that no extraordinary stress is usually to be laid upon such Informations.

Nigh this time several Ships arriv'd at *Gallway* from *France*, and brought over my Lord *Tyrconnel*, Sir *Richard Neagle*, and Sir *Stephen Rice*, with about only 8000*l.* in Money; which was a great disappointment to the *Irish*, who had a small distribution by way of Donative, but not as pay.

January, 1691.

A Party of
ours march
beyond the
Shannon.

January,
1691.

There came also some Soldiers-Coats and Caps, but such sorry ones, that the *Irish* themselves could easily see in what esteem their Master of *France* had them.

A Party of the
Irish besiege
Fermoy.

A Party of the Militia of *Bandon* advance into the Enemies Quarters, and killing some few straglers, brought off a good Prey, according to the custom of the Country. But afterwards about 1500 of the Enemy pass the *Black-Water*, near *Fermoy*, where there was some of the *Danes* posted in a Fort, which the *Irish* pretended to Attack; upon their near approach our Men fired, and the *Irish* seemed resolute for some time, but sixteen of them being killed, with a *French* Officer, the rest were presently a little more calm; and then they made an attempt on the other side, on *Fermoy*-Bridge, but were beat back with two small Field-Pieces, (which they had Intelligence were removed) and six of them killed at that place; but by this time part of Colonel *Donep*'s Horse were come to *Castle Leons*, and fifty of them, with 30 Militia Dragoons, engaged a greater Number of the *Irish*, and killed sixty, pursuing the rest nigh two Miles, till they came towards their main Body, which was commanded by Brigadier *Carol*, who was obliged to retire without what he came for.

Richard Pyne, Esquire, formerly one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, is now made Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas. And, Jan. 26, some Recruits are sent from *Dublin*, to re-inforce the Garrison of *Kilmeague*, in the Isle of *Allen*, and other places in the County of *Kildare*. And now, to satisfie both the Army and Country as much as could be, comes out a Proclamation; *That all Persons who had given subsistence of Provisions, &c. to the Army, should receive satisfaction for the same according to the Rates made publick in the beginning of Winter.* And *that all Arrears of Pay due to Officers, or Soldiers, who died, were killed, or removed from Their Majesties Service, should be paid to their Relations.* In order to which, there were certain Commissioners

sioners appointed, to state the Accompts of the Army; *February*, 1691. These Commissioners were *William Robinson*, *John Stone*, *Edward Corker*, *John South*, and *Edward Molineux*, Esquires, who, some of them, here sate every Day, for many Months together, upon this Affair.

Jan. 29. A Ship belonging to *Chester* Water was cast away in the Bay of *Dublin*; *Ball* the owner, and all the Passengers being lost. The same Day upwards of 200 Prisoners were put on Board there, and sent to *Cork*, with Orders to be transported to *Flanders*. A Detachment of the Garrison of *Cork*, being two hundred Foot, and 300 Dragoons, march towards *Church-Town* and *Buttafan*, two of the Enemies Frontier-Towns in that County, where they had a Party of Horse and Foot; but they withdrew at our approach, leaving the Places to be burnt by our Men, which was done accordingly.

The beginning of *February* a Party of the Army, with some of the Militia, march'd from *Clonmell*, within ten Miles of *Limerick*, meeting with little opposition; killed only about twelve stragling Rapparees, and burnt what Cabbins and other places of shelter for the *Irish* they met withal; returning with a prey of Cattle, and three or four Prisoners.

February the 4th. A Declaration was published at *Dublin* by Lieutenant-General *Ginckel*; setting forth, *That Their Majesties had no design to Oppress their Roman-Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom, in either their Religion, or their Properties; but had given him Authority, to grant reasonable Terms to all such as would come in and submit according to their Duty.* But this Declaration (as others before it of like nature) had not the wished-for effect; since the *Irish* are generally of that Temper, as to think you are most afraid of them when best Terms are profer'd: This made the *Irish* Peasants value themselves mightily upon King *William's* first Declaration, after the Rout at the *Boyne*, who then

A Declaration from the General to the Irish.

February, then look'd upon themselves to be the most considerable part of the *Irish* Nation, because they had Terms proferr'd before the Great Ones.

1691.
A Proclamation, prohibiting the destroying Improvements.

The sixth, a Proclamation was published by the Lords-Justices and Council, prohibiting all Officers and Soldiers to plunder, or take away the Goods either of Protestants or Papists; nor cut down Improvements, (as some unreasonably went about;) nor to take the Horses and Cattle out of the Plough, or to exact and levy Money: Of all which there had been frequent Complaints; and therefore the Soldiers were commanded to pay their Quarters with their Subsistence which was ordered them, and the Officers too, from the first of January.

Commissioners sent over to build Ships in Ireland.

Nigh this time, *Francis Sheldon* and *John Green*, two that were Skilful in the Art of Building Ships, were both sent over, in equal Commission, by Authority of the Navy-Board in *England*, to build Ships for Their Majesties Service at *Waterford* or *Wexford*; nigh which Places, and in the County of *Wickloe*, there is good store of suitable Timber, and other Advantages for building Ships at easier Rates than in *England*; but what progres has been made herein, I am uncertain.

February the 8th. Colonel *Brewer* and Major *Boad*, with a Party of 150 Horse, and 200 Foot, march'd from *Mullingar* towards *Meers Court*, to Relieve that and some other Garrisons with Provisions, and some Men; which having done, Colonel *Brewer* went with a Party towards *Ballymore*, to view the Posture of the Enemy at that place; he met with a small Party of them at a Pass, a Mile on this side the Fort, whom he put to flight, and pursued to the Garrison, nigh which he kill'd six or eight, and burnt the House at the Pass when he returned, bringing the Owner away Prisoner.

February the 10th. Sir *Richard Reynolds*, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, came from *England* and sat as

as Judge in that Court, being afterwards sworn of the *February*,
 Privy-Council. And nigh the same time we had an ac-
 count, that considerable Numbers of Recruits, both for
 Horse and Foot, lay ready at *Bristol* to be ship'd for *Ire-
 land*. The *Montague* and *Dover* Frigats bring into *Kin-
 sale* a Privateer of *St. Maloes*, of 24 Guns and six Pettere-
 roes. A Party of our Army, quartering at *Bally-Hooly* in
 the County of *Cork*, went into the Enemies Country and
 kill'd 25 Rapparees; and soon after Major *Kirk* kill'd
 16 more, taking two Officers Prisoners; yet, for all this,
 the Enemy watched all opportunities of Advantage, kill-
 ing our Men by surprize in a great many places; but espe-
 cially, keeping Correspondence with the protected *Irish* in
 all corners of the Country, they stole away our Horses
 sometimes in the Night, and often at Noon-day, when our
 Men least suspected it; by which means they recruited
 their own Horse considerably, and did us no small dis-
 service; nor is it probable, unless they had made use of
 some such ways, they could have brought any Body of
 Horse into the Field, worth taking notice of, the succeed-
 ing Campaign, whereas we were sensible afterwards that
 their Horse were once not contemptible.

The 9th. two Officers and a Soldier desert from *Lime-
 rick*, and come to *Cashel*: And a Day or two afterwards
 about 100 Protestants are permitted to come away, who
 all agree, that the *Irish* were more dissatisfied since my Lord
Tyrconnel's Landing than before, since the Money and
 Cloaths, brought them from *France*, were both in them-
 selves very contemptible; the one for quantity, and the
 other for quality.

We had also an Account that *Sarsfield* was made *Sarsfield*
 Earl of *Lucan*, and Lieutenant-General of the Army; *made Lord*
Dorington, Major-General; and *Barker*, General of the
 Foot.

The Irish
 steal away
 our Horses to
 Recruit their
 own Army.

February,
1691.

One *Langton* was Hanged at *Kilkenny* for endeavouring to seduce a Souldier of Count *Nissau*'s Regiment and some others. And at *Birr*, the Rapparees killing one of Colonel *Hamilton*'s Souldiers, drew out his Guts, and mangled his Body after amost barbarous and unusual manner. Several Ships arrive at *Waterford* with Meal, Bisket, Corn, and other Provisions for their Majesties use; and a great many Merchant Ships come to that and other Ports, with Victuals and other conveniencies, for the Army and Country.

A Party of the
Irish burn
Edenderry.

On the 13th. about 400 of the *Irish* Army, Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Conner*, came to *Edenderry*, and burnt greatest part of it, killing 7 Men and a Woman, and had 11 of theirs kill'd by a Militia Troop then in Town, who were obliged to defend the strongest Houses; and the *Irish* returning by *Phillips-Town*, burnt *Bally Brittan*.

Judges ap-
pointed to go
their several
Circuits.

And now the Civil Government begun to look with a better countenance than formerly; for February the 17th. the Judges were appointed for their several Circuits; (*viz.*) *Munster* Circuit, Lord Chief Justice *Reynolds*, Mr. Justice *Cox*. *Leinster* Circuit, Lord Chief Justice *Pyne*, Mr. Justice *Jefferson*. *North-East* Circuit of *Ulster*, Lord Chief Baron *Healy*, Mr. Justice *Lyndon*. *North-West* Circuit, Mr. Baron *Eclyn*, Mr. Serjeant *Ryves*. These all went their districts accordingly, and found things much out of order in several places, by reason of the looseness of the Times, and the general inclination of most people to a disorderly way of living.

The Duke of
Berwick and
others of the
Irish Army, go
for France.

February 24th. a large *French* Pinck bound from *Bourdeaux* to *Connaught* with Wine, Brandy, Salt, &c. was driven by stress of Weather into *Arcklow-Haven*; the Men being made Prisoners, the Ship and Cargo were seized for their Majesties use. And nigh this time we heard, that the Duke of *Berwick*, and some other great Officers of the *Irish* Army, were gone off from *Limerick* to *France*, being

being discontented, as 'twas said, at my Lord Tyrconnel's way of Proceeding in the Government.

1691.

The 25th. Lieutenant Colonel *Lillingston* went from *Roscreagh* with a Party, to *Monogall*, where he surprised a Company of Colonel *Oxburrough's* Regiment, and several Rapparees, kill'd 35 and took 5 Prisoners, with one *O'Connor*, who Commanded.

The 26th. in the Morning, Lieutenant General *Ginckel* and Sir *John Lanier*, having drawn a considerable Body both of Horse and Foot together, they advanced from *Streams-Town* towards *Athlone*. The Enemy never wanted Intelligence of our Motions, by reason of their Friends always amongst us; and therefore as we approached, we found a Body of Horse and Foot, to the number of about 2300, Commanded by Brigadeer *Clifford*, drawn on at a Pass 4 miles from *Streams-Town*; the place it self was of great advantage, its natural situation being improved by Art: but as soon as a Party of ours, under Captain *Pepper* of The Irish defeated at the Colonel *Earl's* Regiment, advanced on the other side, ^{feated at the} *Mote of Greenoge*. the *Irish* quitted the Pass, being followed by our Horse and Dragoons towards the *Mote of Greenoge*, where a greater Body of their Army was Posted upon the side of an Hill; and those also upon seeing what happened, retired into the Town; at the entrance of which, there was a very defensible Ditch, with a Pallisado'd Work, which the *Irish* quitted, and March'd towards *Athlone*; our Advance Party being 10 of my Lord of *Oxford's* Horse, 12 of Sir *John Lanier's*, Commanded by Cornet *Lisle*, and sustained by Lieutenant *Monk's* Dragoons, (those were four choice Men out of a Company in Major General *Kirk's* Regiment, mounted on Horseback, and Commanded by Lieutenant *Monk*, who always did Dragoon service,) and a Party of Colonel *St. John's* Foot, under Captain *Worth*, and all Com-

February, 1691. manded by Colonel *Woolstey*: those overtook the Enemies Foot before they were got out of Town, very soon obliging them to disperse into the Woods and Boggs, several being killed; and whilst this was adoing, our Advance Party of Horse followed the Enemies Horse so fast upon the great Road that leads towards *Athlone*, that our Body of Horse behind could not come up, though they endeavour'd it by marching very hard: A great many of the *Irish* fearing to be overtaken, quit their Horses, Boots and Arms; making what haste they could to their usual shift, the Woods and Boggs; and thus it continued for six miles, till they were got near *Athlone*. They lost all their Equipage and Baggage, with a great many Horses and Arms, and had about two Hundred kill'd. We lost only one Trumpeter, and had four men more Wounded.

Major General *Kirk* stayed behind and took *Cairn Castle*; and the General at his return, took *Castle-Conway*, in some few days dispersing his Men to their respective Quarters.

March, 1691. The 28th. several Rapparees were killed and hanged by the Militia near *Montrath*, they being usually more severe upon those sort of People than the Army was.

March the 7th. a Cornet, two Quarter-masters, and some other Deserters, came from the Enemy to *Dublin*, where the General then was, and received them very kindly, allowing them subsistence, to encourage others to follow their examples. Several Ships arrive at *Cork*, *Waterford*, *Kinsale*, and *Dublin*, with Provisions and other necessaries for the Army; and the Militia kill some Rapparees, and bring in their Heads; a Custom in that Country, and encouraged by a Law, which allows so much for every Head, according to the Quality of the Offender; though the usual way is by Proclamation from the

Two Hundred
kill'd.

Some Deserters
come in
and encoura-
ged by the
General.

the Government, wherein the Offender and his Price are named.

March,
1691.

Nigh this time three of the *Danish* Soldiers deserting, upon Major-General *Dorington*'s Declaration, or what other Inducements I know not ; but they were met upon the Road, between *Limerick* and *Cashel*, by four others that had belonged to the *Irish* Army, and now deserting to us ; these very fairly set upon the *Danes*, took them Prisoners, and brought them back to *Cashel*, where they were afterwards hanged.

A Party of Colonel *Villers*'s, and some *Danish* Horse, march from *Tallow* within the Enemies Frontiers, kill two, and take some few Prisoners. And Colonel *Blunt*, High-Sheriff of the County of *Tipperary*, with his Militia Troop of Dragoons, a *Danish* Troop of Horse, and others, to the Number of 200, went from *Clonmel* as far as *Mitchelstown*, nigh twenty Miles within the Enemies Quarters ; in which Expedition they kill'd forty seven Rapparees, took thirteen Prisoners, and burnt several Cabbins where they used to shelter.

Captain *Palliser*, of the Earl of *Drogheda*'s Regiment, went with a Party from *Carolante* towards *Portumna*, where he surprized some of my Lord *Galmoy*'s Horse, and took several Prisoners ; as also good store of rich Plunder, with Arms, Cloaths, and several other things of value.

Cornet *Russel* and one *Crofton*, come from the Enemies Quarters, and give an Account, that *Balderock O Donnel* had got several Men together again, but wanting Arms and other Accoutrements they begun to desert : And we also heard that Judge *Daily* was secured, for being suspected to endeavour the delivering up of *Gallway* to our Forces : And that Provisions and Forrage were very scarce in *Connaught*.

March,
1691.
A Proclama-
tion to encou-
rage the Im-
porting of
Arms.

The Lords-Justices, and Council, to encourage the bringing of Arms and Ammunition into *Ireland* by Merchants and others, they set out a Proclamation, declaring that they shall be Duty-free; pursuant to which, Her Majesty made an Order of Council in *England*, dated March the 3d. That no Duty shall be hereafter demanded, or payable in *Ireland*, for any Arms which shall be carried to such parts of that Kingdom as are, or shall be at the time of Importation, under Their Majesties Obedience; provided that the Parties exporting Arms from any other parts of Their Majesties Dominions, do enter into sufficient Bonds for landing the same in such Parts of *Ireland* as aforesaid, and no others.

The Rapparees at this time were very troublesom nigh *Fox-Hall*, in the County of *Longford*, till Lieutenant-Colonel *Toby Purcel*, at three several times, kill'd about one hundred of them; in the last of which they kill'd fifty two; and, returning towards Quarters, they were way-laid by the greatest part of Sir *Donald O'Neal*'s Dragoons: Our Party were thirty five Dragoons, and one hundred and forty Foot; one Quarter-master *Topham* being, with nine Dragoons, commanded as an Advance-Party to view the Enemy, as soon as discovered by us, and seeing them in a confusion at his appearing, he charged their Front; who, running away, made all the rest of the same humour, every one endeavouring to get first to their Garrison at *New-Castle*, three were kill'd, and one *Dillan* with four more taken Prisoners. This Party (its said) was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Barnwell*: Upon this Defeat one *Mack-Guire* comes from the County of *Longford*, with several hundreds of the *Creights*, and most of the Stock that was left them; for which, and themselves, they obtained Protections.

Several Rap-
parees kill'd in
the County of
Longford.

About the 10th of March we had an Account by some Protestants, that came out of Connnaught, that the Irish a little after my Lord Tyrconnel's landing, being out of humour with the Brass Money, little or nothing being to be had for it, they cry'd it down by Proclamation, the Crown piece to three Pence, the Half-crown to three half-Pence, the Shilling to a Penny, and the Six pence to an haif-penny. After which the Soldiers lived upon free quarters: Provisions also being scarce, and no Markets, for want of Money, those Parts begun to be under worse Circumstances every Day.

March, 1691.

The Irish cry down their Brass Money.

We had Notice from Tallough, that Sarsfield had Rendezvous'd part of his Army, and some of the Irish Militia, at Knockhary, and that he had detached ten Men out of a Company, and as many out of each Troop, to Attack the Pass at Fermoy, and beat up our Quarters at Tallough and thereabouts; upon which a Party was detached from Tonghally to strengthen that place, but Sarsfield only viewed his Men, and pick'd out the most serviceable of the Militia to serve in the Army.

Nigh this time one Loran, a troublesom Fellow, was hanged at Killkenny for Seditious words. And on the 14th. a Party of Colonel Byerly's Regiment, with some of the Militia, overtook a Party of Rapparees that were stealing away the Cattle near Montrath, killing six, and took two, who were hanged next Morning. The 17th. a Party of the Irish Army besieged Ballynagooley, a Frontier Garrison of ours in the County of Cork, but were beat off with the death of five of their Men, and seven left Prisoners.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lillingston, having the Command of a Party of three hundred Foot, and some Horse, detach'd from Birr, Roscreagh, and the neighbouring Garrisons, he march'd towards Nenagh, in the County of Tipperary, where there Nenagh burnt by a Party of our Men.

March,
1691.

there is a strong Castle, belonging to the Duke of *Ormond*: Long *Anthony Caroll* was Governor of this Place, having with him about one hundred Men; but in the places adjacent there lived a great many Tories and Rapparees, whom *Caroll* could upon any alarm bring together, to the Number of at least two thousand. He now had notice of our Party's approach, and laid an Ambuscade for them; which being discovered, his Men drew home-wards, and we followed them into Town, which we burnt, but the Castle was not to be attack'd without Cannon; for tho' it was taken by Lieutenant-General *Ginckel*, and a Garrison put into it during the former Siege of *Limerick*, yet, upon our Army's drawing off, part of the House within was burnt, and so quitted by our Party; which was no sooner done, but the *Irish* put a Garrison in it, by which they kept great part of a very good Country in their possession: But seeing our Men could not Attack the Castle, they took a good prey of Cattle; in getting of which, and burning the Town, they kill'd about sixty Men; amongst whom was one *Caroll* an Officer, and a Man of great Bravery: We lost only three Men in this Expedition.

A Party of Horse and Foot went also about this time from *Mountmelick*, to some adjoining Woods, where they understood a Body of Rapparees were got together, we kill'd that Day twelve, and the next Day six, taking a Lieutenant of their Army Prisoner. Six of Colonel *Lutterel's* Dragoons desert the Enemy; and sixteen Rapparees were hanged at *Clonmel*, and four were kill'd as they were making towards a greater Party of the Enemy.

Twenty seven
Rapparees
kill'd, and
thirteen ta-
ken Prisoners
near *Caper-*
quin.

Twelve Troopers, and about thirty Foot, went from *Caperquin* towards *A Glyn*, where they had Information that forty Rapparees were lodg'd, but they proved a much greater

March,
1691.

greater Number than was expected, and obliged our Horse to shift for themselves; which a Trumpeter seeing, who was upon a little Hill at a distance, he first sounded a March, then a Charge, and gave a great Shout, as if some more Horse were falling on; which took so well, that it frightened the Rapparees, and made them run towards the Wood, in which posture, our Foot and Horse falling upon them, kill'd twenty seven, and took thirteen Prisoners; three whereof were called Captains, but being known Rogues, they were all hanged.

March the 18th. a good Detachment was sent from *Cassel* towards *Emly*, in the County of *Limerick*, to meet with the Enemy, who were got into a Body thereabouts. As we came towards the place the Enemy retired, and had twelve killed in their going off. About this time, Colonel *Russel's* Regiment of Horse (formerly my Lord *Delamere's*) was broke at *Antrim*, and Colonel *White's* Regiment of Foot, which were all the Forces that were broke this Year. Colonel *Tiffin* makes an Excursion towards *Sligo*, and met with no formed Body of the Enemy, so that his Men had leisure to take a good prey, and bring off several Families, who removed into our Quarters.

March 21. A detached Party of four hundred Horse and Foot, under the Command of Major *Culliford*, march'd from *Cork* towards *Balyelagh*, where the Enemy were entrenching themselves, but when they saw our Men a-coming they deserted their Works, and left seven of their Men to be made Prisoners, four of whom were Officers. Three hundred of Sir *David Collier's* Men and Militia march from *Bandon* towards *Bantry*, where they kill'd nigh seventy Rapparees, and took fifteen Prisoners. Some Rapparees were taken between *Trim* and *Mullingar*. And a Party of the Militia, under Lieutenant *Powet*, were

March, 1691.

were sent from *Dublin* to bring in some Rogues, who were concern'd in the Murdering six of Colonel *Foulks's* Soldiers, but he and his Party were set upon by one *O'Neal*, and twenty eight more, who by the management of Lieutenant *Powel* and his Party were most of them kill'd.

Mark Baggot taken as a Spy going into Dublin.

March the 28th. one *Mark Baggot*, formerly very well known in *Dublin*, and Serjeant at Arms in the late King's time, was taken coming disguised in Womans Cloaths into that City; he was shortly after Tryed as a Spy, and Condemned; but Execution for some time was respite, in hopes of his doing service to the Government by some material Discoveries.

One *Beecher*, a Gentleman in the County of *Cork*, seized upon an Island on that Coast, from whence he did much damage to the *Irish* thereabouts. And some considerable Men in *Kilkenny*, were seized for holding Correspondence with the Enemy. About this time Landed several Recruits at different Ports from *England*, with an Account of the *French* King's besieging the City of *Mons*, which occasioned various discourses, according as people were inclined.

April, 1691.

In the beginning of *April*, six Souldiers of the Garrison of *Birr*, were barbarously Murdered by the Rapparees, as were others in several places, whensoever they met with opportunities. A Spy was taken and Sentenced to be Hanged there, but brought from the Gallows, upon a discovery of several protected Papists holding Correspondence with the Enemy. One Captain *Darby* of the *Leap*, habiting himself and some of the Militia, with a small party of the Army, like Rapparees, they easily came up with about Eighty of the Enemy, who taking our men to be of their own Tribe, ten of them were killed, and the rest made their escapes.

April

April,
1691.A Party sent
by Brigadier
Stuart to-
wards Mohill.

April the 9th. Brigadier *Stuart* sent fifty Fire-Locks and twenty Dragoons from *Belturbet*, to scour the County of *Letrim*; towards *Mohill* they discovered two Troops of the Enemies Dragoons, and a Company of Foot, Guarding the *Greights* and their Cattle, whom they fell upon, killed thirty and took five Prisoners, with most of their Horses, and what small Baggage they had. And nigh the same time, thirteen Rapparees were Hanged at *Belturbet*, being Tryed by a Court-Martial. A Party of Lieutenant Colonel *Purcell's* Garrison, fell upon some of the *Irish* Dragoons in the County of *Longford*, and killed six of them, others being also drowned, who made more haste than good speed to pass the River. Quarter-master *Topham* kills at one time six, and at another time seventeen Rapparees, and took nine Prisoners, most of which were Hanged. Colonel *Tiffin* sends two Hundred Foot and a Hundred Dragoons, from *Ballyshannon* towards *Sligo*, who in their march killed Forty-two Rapparees, and took ten Prisoners, bringing off a good Prey at their return.

April the 11th. being the Anniversary of their Majesties Coronation, was observed with the usual Solemnities. About five Hundred of the *Irish* came to attack *Clonakilty*, a Garrison of ours in the County of *Cork*, but with no great difficulty were beaten off, having lost only three Men in the Attempt. Next day they seem'd resolved to do something extraordinary; and Colonel *Mack Finnins*, Colonel *Macarty's*, and two more Regiments, making in all about one Thousand five Hundred, Commanded by Brigadier *Caroll*, came to *Iniskean*, with a design to have that place, and some other small Garrisons near it, as steps to further advancements. There were in *Iniskean* only two Ensigns, with

The *Irish*
make several
attempts up-
on our Fron-
tiers.

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1691.

Forty-four Men, who defended the Streets of the Town for some time; but the *Irish* getting in at the back doors, and so firing the Town, our Men betook themselves to an House that seemed the best shelter the place could afford, and there they defended themselves against all the Attempts of the *Irish*, tho' they were at last in hazard to have been burnt out, but that Lieutenant Colonel *Ogleby* came seasonably from *Pandon* with a Hundred and fifty Horse and Foot, which occasioned the *Irish* to draw off; and being followed by our small Party of Horse in the retreat, and the action in Town, they lost Seventy-two.

April the 14th. the Titular Popish Archbishop of *Dublin*, Father *Brohey*, and Father *Mooney*, were found hid in a Cave within a Mile of *Athy*, and sent Prisoners to *Dublin*.

The 18th. a Proclamation was published, to promise a Reward for the Apprehending the murderers of some of Colonel *Foulks*'s Souldiers in the Church at *Mallabud-dart*, fifty Pound being promised for one *Christopher Brown*, with a Ten Pound a piece for five more concerned in the same Fact; with Pardon to any of themselves that would discover the rest, some of whom were apprehended and Hanged afterwards.

They attempt *Macroomp*. April the 20th. a considerable Body of the *Irish* advanced towards *Macroomp*, another Garrison of ours in the County of *Cork*, where they seemed now to press us most; but a Party of Eighty Horse and three Hundred Dragoons of the Army and Militia, were sent out under Major *Kirk* of Brigadeer *Villers*'s Regiment; these came within sight of the Enemy by break of day, who being surprised at our unexpected approach, the *Irish* betook themselves to the adjacent

jaçent Boggs, in the pursuit of whom we killed twenty, and took an Officer, with four Souldiers Prisoners.

A Party of *Rapparees* coming near *Tallough*, steal away several Horses, and four Men belonging to Colonel *Donep's* Regiment of *Danish Horse*. This being easily believed, could not be done without the knowledge of the Inhabitants in the adjacent Villages, the Colonel ordered several of them to be taken up, and threatened to Hang them all, unless the Horses and Men were brought back by such a day, which was accordingly done, and some of the Men that stole them delivered up to the said

Col. *Donep's*
Project to re-
cover his Men
and Horses.

The 24th. some Provisions going to *Mullingar* under a slender Convoy, were seized by the *Rapparees* at *Kinegad*; but a Party of the Garrison hearing of it, came time enough to kill four of them, and retrieve some of the Provisions, though parts of it was lost, the Boggs lying at that place so very convenient.

Twenty-one *Rapparees* who lately went over the *Shannon*, were taken nigh *Belturbet*, by a Detachment from *Finnagh*; one *Duffee* and his Lieutenant Commanding this Party, had Commissions from *Baldorock O' Donnel*. And now our English Letters bring us an Account of his Majesties safe Arrival at *White-Hall* on April the fourteenth.

Nigh this time his Majesty was pleased to Create Count *Maynard* (second Son to the last Duke of *Schonberg*) Duke of *Leinster*, Earl of *Bangor*, and Baron of *Mullingar*; and there was a report, as if his Grace should have then gone over into *Ireland* to Command the Army the succeeding Campaign.

Count *Schon-*
berg Created
Duke of *Lein-*
ster.

April,
1691.

Some Regi-
ments come
to encamp
at Mullingar.

April 27. My Lord Meath's and my Lord *Lisburn*'s Regiments came to *Mullingar*, (the place design'd for the Rendezvous of the Army) and encamp without the Town. They found a great many of the *Irish* that had made the best provision they could for themselves and Families by the Ditch-sides: For Colonel *Brewer*, sometime before this, had commanded them all out of Town, upon his being informed of their Correspondence with the Enemy. This occasion'd them to build a great many Huts all along the dry Ditches, which they make no difficulty in performing; for it's but bending down two or three Sticks with one end on the Ground, and the other on the top of the Ditch, and then a little Straw or long Grass makes it a Cabbin in less than half an hour, for a Family of ten or a dozen, young and old, to creep into.

Several Rapparees kill'd
by Colonel
Brewer.

The same Day one *Brown* was executed as a Spie. And the 28th. Colonel *Brewer*, with Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*, of my Lord Meath's Regiment, went from *Mullingar* towards *Dunore*, with six hundred Foot and twenty Horse; their Design was to surprize about two thousand Rapparees that had hunted thereabout for some time: At break of Day next Morning our Party came within sight of the Enemy; who took the Alarm, and began to draw up on several Hills in distinct Bodies, both of Horse and Foot, and made a shew at first of advancing, in order to an Engagement; but they always retired to their Fastnesses, upon the near approach of any of our Men: However, the Party so ordered it as to kill nigh fifty, and burn their Huts and Cabins, returning without any loss. The same Day the Governor of *Meers-Court* went towards *Ballymore*, and at Night took the Patrole

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trode Prisoner, bringing off some of the Horses belonging to that Garrison: Fourteen Deserters also came from the Enemy to *Mullingar*. And a crook back'd Beggar was brought a little after to Colonel *Brewer* in a Sack; he had been formerly a Spie; and now, upon his detection, he accused several protected Papists thereabouts, for holding Correspondence with the Enemy. The Dragoons, posted at *Fox-Hall*, upon scouring the Country, kill six *Rapparees*, and three more were taken near *Tallough*.

Nigh this time Captain *Palliser*, and one Lieutenant *Armstrong*, went out with a Party of sixty Fire-Locks from their Quarters near *Birr*; their Design was to surprize some of the *Irish*, and bring off a prey they were informed of; but being betray'd by one *Terence Mackgrah*, who had all along been protected, and pretended a particular Friendship to Captain *Palliser*, our Men fell into an Ambuscade, ordered for them by Long *Anthony Caroll*; and having freed themselves of that, they found themselves beset on all sides, so that they were forced to take into an old Castle; and, after being almost smothered in it with *Smoak*, they surrendered themselves all Prisoners of War; Lieutenant *Armstrong* paid Money to be released, Captain *Palliser* made his escape the beginning of *June* from *Limerick*, but the poor Men were kept Prisoners till *Limerick* was surrendred.

Fifteen *Rapparees* took the Northern-Male going from *Dublin*, at a place called *Moyery-Castle*, between *Dundalk* and *Newry*; six of which were some small time afterwards apprehended and hanged for it.

April 29. A Party of one hundred and fifty Foot, commanded by Captain *Clayton*, were sent to Relieve *Ballynagooly*; some distance from the place they espied

Captain *Palliser* and his
Men taken
Prisoners.

A Party of the
Irish beat off,
who designed
to intercept
the Relief of
Ballynagooly.

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ed a Party of the Enemies Horse, who did not care to meddle with them, because they supposed them well provided with Ammunition; and about twelve at Night the Party reliev'd march'd out: It was no sooner Day-light than they espied near three hundred of the Enemies Horse and Dragoons, and about the same Number of *Rapparees*, who had way-laid them, expecting they would bring but little Ammunition from the Garrison; but Captain *Thornicroft*, Lieutenant *Hayes*, and the Ensign, with the Party, resolved to make the best of it, and so drew their Men into an old Pound, Breast-high; which they had scarce done, till the Advance-Party of the Enemy came up and proferr'd them Quarter; which they refused, and fired upon them; then the *Irish* main Body advanced and made several very brisk Attacks, which our Men resisted stoutly, killing several, and wounding others, who were carry'd off. The Garrison of *Cork* taking the Alarm, sent out a Party to Relieve our Men, but the Enemy were march'd off before. The Enemy left Captain *Coppinger*, two more Captains, and ten Men dead, and Major *Slingsby* was left wounded, who confessed their Party carry'd off between fifty and sixty kill'd and hurt; and withal, that it was a Judgment upon them, since they designed to promise fair Quarter, but afterwards to destroy our whole Party: We lost eight Soldiers and two Carr-Men, and had five more wounded. This Party of the *Irish*, it's said, was commanded by Brigadier *Carroll*, and Sir *James Cotter*.

Twenty three
Rapparees
hanged at
Belturbet.

Near this time one Captain *Duffee*, his Lieutenant, and twenty one more *Rapparees* were hanged by Brigadier *Stuart*'s orders at *Belturbet*, and another as a Spie at *Cavan*. A Detachment of five hundred

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dred Men, out of the Militia of the City and County of *Dublin*, joyning with Colonel *Piper*, march'd towards *Clanbullock*, where they expected to meet with a Body of the *Irish* Army and *Rapparees*; but these having Notice of our Design the Night before, they dispersed to their several places of shelter, so that few of them were taken or kill'd.

April the 30th. being Her Majesties Birth-Day, was observed with great Solemnity; and all Hands were then at work in order to the fitting every thing for the ensuing Campaign. Cloaths, Arms, Ammunition and Recruits arrived daily at *Dublin* from *England*.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

Thirty Rapparees killed. Major Wood defeats a Party of the Irish. Several Skirmishes between the Irish and the Militia. One Captain Johnston surprises a Party of the Irish Army. The Irish take a Prey nigh the Black-Water. Some of our Seamen and Militia joyn and march into the Enemies Quarters. Monsieur St. Ruth lands in Ireland to Command their Army. Mark Baggot hanged. Lieutenant-General Douglas encamps with a Party at Ardagh. Our Great Officers take the Field. The General goes to Mullingar.

*S*everal Ships arrive at *Kinsale* from *England*, and the *Charles Galley* and *Assurance Frigat* at *Waterford*, with four other Ships under their Convoy, all loaden with Cannon, Ball, Bombs, Powder, and several other Materials necessary for the Campaign.

Thirty Rapparees kill'd. The Governor of *Clonmel*, and Colonel *Blunt*, went out with a Party of the Army and Militia towards *Michelstown*; but not meeting with any of the Enemy, they were returning home, when some of the Men stragling behind, one *Cashean*, a known Rogue, shot at a Corporal from behind a Bush, which occasion'd the Party to return and surround the Wood, in which they kill'd thirty.

Towards the beginning of this Month, two hundred and fifty Foot and a small Party of Horse commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Hudson* and Major *Wood*, went from *Montmelick*, and posted themselves amongst the Woods and Bogs towards *Portarlington*: At break of Day the Foot entred and scoured the Thickets, whilst the Horse secured the adjoyning Passes; by which means they kill'd eighteen, and took an Ensign, one *Moor*, with a Sergeant and six Men Prisoners; they took also one of the Guards, and one *O Rourk*, who had formerly stole several of the *Dutch* Horses at *Munster Evan*.

May the 1st. Major *Wood* having Notice that the *Rapparees* were in great Bodies about *Brittas* in the ^{Major Wood} *Queen's County*, he went out with three hundred of ^{defeats a Bo-} my Lord *George Hamilton's*, and Colonel *Lloyd's* Foot, ^{dy of the Irish.} and fifty of Colonel *Byerly's* Horse, with which he first kill'd nigh seventy *Rapparees*; and leaving part of his Men to secure several Passes, he went three Miles further, beyond a place called *The Tongher of Malahone*, having with him one hundred and ten Foot, and thirty Horse; but instead of the *Rapparees*, whom he only expected, he espied two Bodies of the *Irish* Army, said to be near eight hundred in Number: Those he encountered, and after several Charges at different places, he put them to the Rout, killing one hundred and fifty on the place; amongst whom were one Captain *Schales*, and two Lieutenants; he took Major *John Fitz-Patrick* Prisoner, who commanded the Party, and seventeen Officers more, with six Sergeants, sixteen Corporals, two Drummers, and a Chirurgeon, and also eighty private Centinels. In all this Action we lost but a Corporal and a Trooper, two Foot-Soldiers wounded, and Lieutenant *Robinson*. This may

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seem incredible to those that are strangers to this Country, but I shall in convenient time give you several Instances, both Ancient and Modern, which deserve as much to be admired. And I can find no other reason for it, than that it's no easie matter to persuade the *Irish* to fight whilst there is a Bog or a Wood nigh them, tho' take them abroad and they make no contemptible Soldiers.

Captain Johnston surprizes some of the Irish Army.

Nigh this time Captain *Johnston*, of my Lord *George Hamilton's* Regiment, went with one hundred Men from *Tyrl's Pals* to *Ballimona* in the *King's* County, and towards break of Day he surprized two Troops of *Clifford's Dragoons*, and a Party of my Lord *Mervion's* Horse, with some Foot, killing a Lieutenant, a Quarter-master and fifteen Dragoons; took Prisoners, two Ensigns, six Dragoons, one Trooper, and two Foot-Soldiers, burnt the Town, with the Furniture of what Dragoons were there quarter'd, bringing off twelve Horses, with some Cows, and spare Arms, without any los on our side.

A Party of Colonel *Brewer's* Men being abroad, and some of them stragling between *Mullingar* and *Kengad*, three were kill'd, and the fourth had his Eyes put out, being used by the *Rapparees* after a most cruel and barbarous manner; but three *Rapparees* being taken, and two of them hang'd, one *Hill*, the third, guided a Party of one hundred and ten Men, commanded by Captain *Poynes*, to a place within six Miles of *Mullingar*, where the *Rapparees* lodged that Night; our Men fell upon them, and killing about forty, they got good store of rich Plunder.

Some more *Rapparees* were about this time hanged at *Belturbet*: And one Mr. *Woodward*, with a Party, kills twenty nigh *Kells* that were stealing away his

Cat-

Cattle. Lieutenant *Schales*, with a small Party of Sir *John Lanier*'s Horse, and Major-General *Kirk's* Foot, kill'd eleven *Rapparees* near *Wyands-Town*, and sent their Heads to *Dublin*.

May the 8th. The Duke of *Wirtenberg* came from his Quarters to *Dublin*; and five Ships loaden with Arms and Ammunition came into that Bay, by whom we understood of His Majesty's departure from *England* a second time, and safe arrival in *Holland*.

May the 9th. three *Irish* Press masters taken nigh *Macroomp*, were Hanged at *Cork*; and Lieutenant *Moore* goes with a Party nigh *Bantry*, where he killed five of the Enemy, and took some Cattle; one *Cornet Evanson* kills four more; and another *Rapparee* being Condemned, had his Life saved for guiding Lieutenant *Crawford* to a Party of *Rapparees* nigh *Macroomp*, of whom seventeen were killed, one Hanged, and eleven taken Prisoners.

There was now a Garrison of the Militia in *Castle-Haven*, one of those Forts which the *Irish* delivered to the *Spaniards* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, famous for that Sea-Fight in the Haven, between Sir *Richard Levison* and *Don Pedro de Zubiaur*, the *Spanish* Admiral, where greatest part of the *Spaniards* were sunk or disabled. From hence Colonel *Towns-end* sent a Party of his Men to scour the Country; they met with a Party of *Rapparees*, and killed one *Regan* their Captain, with *Borg* his Lieutenant, and four more.

Nigh this time one hundred and fifty of the *Irish* ^{The *Irish* take} Army, joyned with a Party of *Rapparees*, came over the ^{a' Prey nigh} *Black-water* and took a considerable Prey from our ^{the Black-} _{water.}

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side. Colonel Donep being not far off, gave the Alarm to the Country by firing a Cannon, and with a few *Danes* and a Party of the Militia, pursued the Enemy: A *Danish* Lieutenant and eight Men overtook them at a place called *Ballyderrawne*, and had so much Courage as to Engage in the Rear of nigh sixty; but the Lieutenant being killed, the rest retired, till Colonel Donep came up with Twenty-four *Danes* and Militia, these put the Enemy into some disorder; and then being reinforced by a greater number of the Militia, they followed the Enemy beyond *Killworth*, and in the pursuit killed fifty, whereof four were Officers, (*viz.*) Captain *Butler*, Lieutenant *Condon*, another Lieutenant, and a *Cornet*, taking also forty Horses, several Arms and Accoutrements, and recovered the Prey, with some more to make an addition to it.

May the 15th. a Party of the Militia of *Bandon*, took Captain *Hugh Donavan*, and six of *O Donavan's* Regiment Prisoners: And about forty *Rapparees* were surprized in a Wood in the Night as they sat at Supper, by a Lieutenant and eight Men, who coming silently up to where they saw the Light, they fired amongst them and killed four, the rest dispersing at the suddenness of the Accident; the Lieutenant and his Men got about twenty Horses and other Booty.

One Major *O Neal* was sent from *Athlone* to view the Fortifications at *Ballimore*; but instead of returning with an Account of the Place, he comes over to us: And one Mr. *Whittingham* makes his escape out of *Connaught*, giving an Account of several Murders committed by the *Rapparees*. Sir *Garret Ailmer* and

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and some other Prisoners, taken at *Derry*, &c. were exchanged: And our Provisions going to the Stores at *Mullingar*, are again attempted by a Party of *Rapparees*, upon the Common between that and *Kinegad*, which is eight miles, and a waste Country, with Woods and Boggs on each side; but their design was frustrated by eight of Colonel *Brewer's* Men, though they killed a Sutler by a Random-Shot.

May the 18th. Lieutenant-General *Ginkel*, Commander in Chief of Their Majesties Forces for the succeeding Campaign, goes to view the Town of *Mullingar*; and Provisions and Ammunition were daily sent thither, as also to *Belturbet*, for the supply of our Northern Forces: and more Recruits both of Horse and Foot, with Ammunition and Souldiers Cloaths, arrive daily at *Dublin* from *England*.

The Bay of *Baltimore* in *Carberry*, in the West of *Ireland*, is a safe place for Ships of any Burden to ride in, and was one of those which the *Spaniards* much frequented in former times, being called by them *Valentimore*. The *Dragon* and *Advice* Frigats, being about the middle of May in this Bay, they Landed a hundred Seamen, who joyning some of the Militia, march'd up into the Country, and saw sever-
al Parties of the Enemy; but they not caring to Engage, our People took what Cattle and other Prey they had a mind to; and two days after the *Dragon* brought a Privateer of *St. Malo's* of eight Guns, called the *Swallow*, to *Kinsale*; the Commander of which gave the first certain Account, That several French Ships with Arms, Ammunition, Provisions, and some Officers, were gone into the River *Shannon* to-
wards Some of our Seamen and Militia joyn, and march in- to the En- mies Quarters.

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Mon sieur St.
Ruth Lands in
Ireland to
Command
their Army.

wards Limerick, on Board of which Ships was Mon sieur St. Ruth and other French Officers sent to Command the Irish Army. And near the same time, six of our Ships come to Cork with Recruits and Provisions, under the Conduct of the Smyrna Frigat.

A Party of three hundred Horse and Dragoons, with two hundred of the Militia, went from Cork to relieve the Garrison of Ballynagooley; after which they went to view Bally-Clough, in the Enemies possession, but upon our approach, they drew into their Works, so that our Men killed only five, and took as many Prisoners. Captain Barry of the Militia, kills six in a Wood at Ballyhooly beyond the Black-water; and the Militia of Fermoy, upon an Expedition, kill ten more, taking also eight Prisoners. One Maurice Spulane, a Rapparee Captain, was killed nigh Castle-Haven; and Quarter-master Edwards kills sixteen nigh Tipperary; and Captain Massey eight more in the County of Limerick; and three were carried to Clonmell there to be hanged: four were taken in a Wood near Dramoree, as they were dividing some Money they had stole. So that on all sides, though these Vermin were at work to do Mischief, yet the Army, and indeed the Militia, were as active to suppress them. However, the White Serjeant, with one Mackabe and Cavenagh, were very troublesome nigh Kildare. Those were three Fellows all under the same Circumstances, who running away from the Irish Army, they got small Parties of Rogues together, and haunted the Bogg of Allen, and other places of the Country thereabouts, which were particularly well known to them, and by that means gave the Inhabitants no small disturbance. They were hunted by the Militia nigh this time, and three of the White Serjeant's

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Serjeant's men Shot at one time, and two of *Mackabe's* at another; and soon after three more were killed near *Murrey*. And our publick Accounts tell us of a hundred and ten *Rapparees* killed by Captain *Baggott's* Militia Dragoons since the beginning of this Month in several Parties. But *Cavenagh* and his Men being afraid to trade any more in the Bogg of *Allen*, they remove towards the Mountains of *Wicklow*, where Lieutenant *Cooley* met with them, and killing fifteen, took their Captain, upon which the rest dispersed, or joyned with *Mackabe* and the White Sergeant.

May the 20th. *Mark Baggot*, formerly spoke of, ^{Mark Baggot hanged.} being condemned and reprieved till now, was this Day hanged, having said nothing to the purpose, but that our best places to pass the *Shannon* were *Mellick* and *Bunober*.

May 24. Major *Welden* of the Militia, and Captain *Phillips* of Colonel *Earl's* Regiment, kill thirteen *Rapparees* near *Montmelick*. Captain *Underhill*, of my Lord *Lisburn's* Regiment, with sixty Foot and ten Dragoons, goes to *Ballenderry*, May the 26th. where they met with a Party of nigh three hundred of the *Irish* Army, whom they engaged, killing Captain *Geoghegan* and four more Officers, and (as the Account was) fifty private Men. Next Day the same Captain went out with only twenty four Men and kill'd twelve; but being set upon by a good Party of the *Irish*, commanded by Colonel *Geoghegan*, he made his retreat to *Dunore Castle*, having only one Man kill'd and another wounded. The same Day some *Dutch* Horse being come to the Camp now

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now at *Mullingar*, a Party of them went abroad, kill'd several *Rapparees*, and brought in thirty Prisoners.

Lieutenant-General Douglas encamps with a Party at *Ardagh*.

At this time Lieutenant-General *Douglas* was march-ed out of the North with a Body of Men and en-camped at a place called *Ardagh* in the County of *Longford*, twelve Miles from *Mullingar*: And the Duke of *Wirtenberg* was gone towards *Thurles*, where the Foreigners that quartered last Winter in *Munster* were ordered to *Rendezvouz*, and to be ready to joyn the rest of the Army nigh *Banagher*, where our Great Men had some thoughts at that time of pas-sing.

Our Train of Artillery was also upon their march from *Dublin* to *Mullingar*, being such an one as ne-ver had been seen before in that Kingdom.

Our Great Officers take the Field.

Major-General *Ruyvigny* is now at the Camp at *Mul-lingar*, whither went Major-General *Mackay* on the 28th. who came lately from *Scotland*. Major General *Kirk* and Sir *John Lanier* go for *England*, and land at *Neston* on the thirtieth. And much about the same time the Duke of *Leinster's* Regiment of Horse, formerly my Lord *Devonshire's*, landed in *Eng-land* and march'd towards *Coventry*. Major-General *Talmash* being sent by His Majesty to assist the other Great Officers this Campaign in *Ireland*, landed at *Dublin* the latter end of *May*, having with him Sir *Martin Beckman*, chief Ingineer, and in a Day or two he went towards the Camp.

About this time the Gentlemen of the County of *East Meath*, meeting at *Trim*, agreed to scour the *Red Bog* nigh that place, where the *Rapparees* haunted and had done much mischief during the last Winter ; the issue was, that thirty five were kill'd, and six more fairly

fairly hanged. Some were also kill'd by the Militia of the County of *Watersford*, and others near *Kilmallock*, by Parties that advanced so far. By Packets from *England* the General had an Account by Letters from Monsieur de *Opdam*, Lieutenant-General of the Horse in *Holland*, who went to *Breda* about the exchange of Prisoners taken at the *Boyne*, *Cork*, *Kinsale*, &c. with the *Dutch* taken at the Battle of *Fleur*, that the *French* refused to release the *Irish* Officers under such Characters as they gave themselves, but left them under very ill Circumstances, upbraiding them in terms very disrespectful, tho' they released the *Irish* Soldiers, and sent them to *Thoulon*, *Marseilles*, &c. for the Sea-service.

This Month now draws towards an end, and all People that had any business towards the Camp, are resorting thither; in order to which the Lords-Justices set out a Proclamation, Commanding all Sutlers and others to carry no Ale, or other Liquors to the Camp, but what was good and well brewed, and to be at least six Days old; to prevent Fluxes and other Distempers.

There was also another Proclamation, Commanding all Persons that designed to be Sutlers, to come to *Dublin* for Licenses, and to renew those each Journey. But this being found inconvenient for the Army, it was recalled.

May the 30th. Lieutenant-General *Ginckel* went from *Dublin*, and lying that Night at *Tycroghan*, next Day his Excellency came to the Camp at *Mullingar*, where he found (Foot, viz.) Major-General *Kirk's*, Lord *Meath's*, Lord *Lisburn's*, Lord *Cutts's*, Colonel *Foulks's*, Colonel *Brewer's*, Lord *George Hamilton's*, and Colonel *Earl's* (Horse,) Sir *John Lanier's*, Brigadier *Vil-*

The General
goes to the
Camp.

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lers's, Colonel Langston's, Rydesel's, Roucour's and Monopovillon's, with Colonel Leveson's Dragoons, who, before his coming over was made a Brigadier by His Majesty.

The Soldiers every Day in one Regiment or another began to appear fine in their new Cloths; and, before the Army took the Field, the Lords-Justices, with the Advice of the General, appointed several Officers, that had been or were actually then in the Army, to Command the Militia in different places of the Kingdom, not as being Absolute, but rather Superintendents of the whole: As in the County of Cork Major Stroud was employed, in the Counties of Wickloe and Wexford Major Brooks and Captain Phillips; as were also Major Tichburn, Lieutenant-Colonel Toby Caulfield, and others in several other places.

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C H A P. V.

The Fortifications at Mullingar contracted into a narrower compass. A Stratagem of the Irish to get Horses. The Irish march towards Athlone. Our Army goes towards Ballymore: That place besieged: Its Situation described. Four Batteries planted. The General's Message sent in writing. A Parley beat: The Fort surrendered. Ballymore better fortified. The Army march towards Athlone, and joyned by the Duke of Wirtenberg. We approach the Town. Batteries planted. The order of the Attack. The English Town taken. Batteries against the Irish Town. The Enemy ruin our Works. A design to pass the Shannon. The Enemy burn our close Gallery. A Council of War held. A Party ordered to pass the River. The Town stormed. An Express sent to St. Ruth. A part of our Army left in the Country, and why. Major Culliford surprizes some of the Irish. Inniskeen fortified.

June the 1st. Very early in the Morning Grace and Hogan, two Rapparee Captains, with eighty Men, surprized a Castle called Camgart, within six Miles of Birr, kept all Winter by a Party of the Militia; the news of which was brought some time after to Carolanter, where was a Garrison kept by the Earl of Drogheda's Regiment: The Account of this was brought in haste, and very imperfect; so that Ensign Story (who was there with another Officer) thinking to hinder the Irish from getting into the Castle, or at least if

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they were in, to prevent the burning of it, he goes with all speed with a Party of thirty Men from *Carolante* towards *Camgart*, being not above an *English* Mile; but the Enemy were got in long before, and had secured all the Garrison, and seeing our Party approach they kept themselves very close within the Works. The Ensign and his Men coming nigh the place, and seeing no appearance of either Enemies or Friends, he posted his Men in an Orchard within Musquet-shot of the Castle, and himself with two Men went up towards the Gate, but being got too nigh the Works, a Woman carrying Water to a Cabin, made a sign that the Enemy was within, which occasion'd the Ensign to stop, at which they fired a whole Volley upon him, killing himself and one of the Men; the Party could not bring off the Ensign's Body, being so near the Castle; but, after some stay there, they march'd off without any further trouble from the Enemy. The other Officer, Commanding in *Carolante*, sent back a Drum for Ensign Story's Body, which the *Irish* made some scruple to deliver, but proferr'd to bury him Honourably, which they did, allowing his own Drum to beat the Dead March before him, and themselves fired three Vollies at his Grave, acknowledging at his Death some former Civilities from him; which is very rare with that sort of People: But this particular I mention to show the incertainty of the things of this World; for this Officer was well and at liberty at nine a Clock in the Morning, but before twelve he was not only in the power, but buried by his Enemies, and that with great Formality. And a Man that is at the Pains to Describe other Peoples Actions, may be allowed the liberty to leave one Page to the Memory of his own Brother.

As

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As soon as the General came to *Mullingar*, he ordered the Works that had been made last Winter, for the security of that place, to be contracted into a narrower compass, that fewer Men might be left for their defence, and planted four Piece of Cannon upon the Mount, towards the South-side of the Town. Whilst the General continued here, the Design of passing the *Shannon* at *Melick* and *Banoher* seem'd to be the most plausible; and therefore, June the 5th. the General sent Mr. *Trench* (a Clergy-man, and one who has been very forward in Their Majesties Service) to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, then at *Bally-Boy*, (as was expected) with Directions to view the afore mentioned places, and encamp thereabouts till the rest of the Army joyn'd him; or, if he could, to surprize a Passage over the *Shannon*, whilst the Enemy were gazing upon the Motion of the other part of the Army: Mr. *Trench*, and his Party of thirty Horse, with a great deal of difficulty got through the Enemy (who then were at *Bally-Boy*, and most of that Country thereabouts) to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, whom he found encamped at *Roscreagh*; but, after Mr. *Trench*'s departure, the General and the rest of the Great Officers, considering that should they decline to the left, towards *Melick* and *Banoher*, and leave the great Road leading towards *Athlone*, if the Enemy would be desperate, there was nothing to hinder them from marching even up to *Dublin*; and therefore they sent another Express to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, on the 7th. to march forwards, in order to joyn the Army, towards *Athlone*.

Now you must know, the *Irish* having been very industrious all the Winter past (and ever since) to form a Body of Horse, as well by stealing ours, as by

A Stratagem
of the Irish to
get Horses.

June, 1691. by other methods most agreeable to their purpose: their last Trick was, to order all the Gentlemen Volti^riers in those Countries within their own Jurisdiction, to appear with their best Horses and Arms by such a day at *Limerick*, pretending to conferr marks of Honour and Distinction upon the forwardest; by which means they Assembled a great many Men, and most of them well Mounted, who all being drawn up in the *King's-Island*, the greatest part of them were on a sudden ordered to dismount and deliver up their Horses for the use of the Army, who they were told, could better manage them for the King's Interest. In a day or two after this, the whole Body of their Army being about twenty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse and Dragoons, moved towards *Athlone*, which way they understood by their Spies, that our Army designed to march.

They march towards Athlone.

Our Army march towards Ballymore.

Saturday June the 6th. the General with his Army march'd from *Mullingar* to *Rathcondra*, between *Meerscourt* and *Cairn-Castle*, being about six Miles, leaving at *Mullingar* nine Twenty four Pounds, one eighteen Pounder and three Mortars. Within a Mile of our Camp we were joyned upon the march by Lieutenant-General *Douglas* with the following Regiments, (viz.) Foot: Lieutenant-General *Douglas*'s, Brigadier *Stuart*'s, Sir *Henry Bellasis*'s, Colonel *Tiffin*'s, Colonel *St. John*'s, Colonel *Gustavus Hamilton*'s, Colonel *Herbert*'s, and Colonel *Creighton*'s, as also Colonel *Woolsey*'s: Twelve Troops of Horse, with Colonel *Wynn*'s and Sir *Albert Cunningham*'s Dragoons. The same day a Deserter of my Lord *George Hamilton*'s ^{was} hanged upon a Bush as the Army march'd by. That night the General sent out a strong Party of Dragoons

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Dragoons towards *Ballymore*, as well to prevent relief from getting in, as to secure the Enemy from stealing of in the night towards *Athlone*: These meeting with some of that Garrison abroad, killed four, and brought in two Prisoners, one of which was very much wounded, and gave an Account, That the Garrison in *Ballymore* was a Detachment of their best Men sent from *Athlone*, being about a thousand in number.

June the 7th. the Army march'd to *Ballymore*, ^{Ballymore besieged.} and by twelve a Clock had beat the Enemy with- in the Works, and surrounded the Fort; the Enemy firing their small Shot, and two small Turkish Pieces that were mounted upon old Cart-Wheels. But before I give you an Account of the taking this Fort, it will not be amiss to give you a slender Description of it.

I do not find any thing Remarkable of this place ^{The Place described.} in former times; it's only a small Village upon the Great Road between *Mullingar* and *Athlone*, being ten Miles distant from each. The place has always been very poor, and had only two or three Houses of Entertainment in it, the rest being all *Irish Cabbins*, to the number of a hundred or thereabouts, (though now there is neither House nor Cabbin standing.) A little to the right of the Town as you go to *Athlone*, stood a pretty Church upon a rising ground; about a hundred and twenty Yards from which there lies a spot of Ground about six Acres, which is almost an Island, by reason of a great Lough to the East, North, and North-East; and on the North-West there is Bogg; a small neck of Land running from the Church on the South-West, prevents

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vents it from being altogether an Island. This Isthmus had been formerly Fortified with a double Ditch, and within that a Stone Wall, and then there stood a pretty strong Houle, where one Widow *White* lived the year before, when Lieutenant-General *Douglas* march'd that way to *Athlone*, who took Protection, and secured a good stock of Sheep and Cows in this Peninsula whilst we lay Encamp'd by the Town. At the further end next the broadest part of the Lough, stood a strong *Danish* Fort (as this Kingdom is every where full of them) now Fortified with a Ditch twenty Foot broad and ten Foot deep, being also Pallisado'd round. Towards the East and North-East, the Lough is so broad, that Cannon can do no execution over it; but towards the South-East, there is a large round Hill which overlooks the Island, and from whence you may see into all places of it. This place was neglected by us last year, as being so poor in it self, that it could not support a Garrison; but the *Irish* seeing the natural strength of it, and withal the advantage of disturbing our neighbouring Garrisons from thence, they presently fell to work and Fortified it; here they kept a Garrison all Winter, and towards the Spring sent that Detachment thither which we now found.

The Fort
Summoned.

At the approach of our Army the General sent a Summons to the place; but Lieutenant-Colonel *Mylo Burk* being proud of the name of Governour, would not hearken to the General's mild Proposals; then four Field-Pieces were brought down, which play'd three or four hours at Random upon the Island; and a Serjeant and fifteen Men being in an old Castle nigh a quarter of a Mile to the South-West of the Fort, after all hopes of being relieved, was cut off;

The round Castle



RR

The Hospital

The

Dublin Road

Camp

Ballymore Town

Meadows and Bogg

Arthene Road

The Church

C

F

The round Castle



Athlone Road

The Church



Meadows and Bogs

The Hospital



Ballymore Town



The

Dublin Road

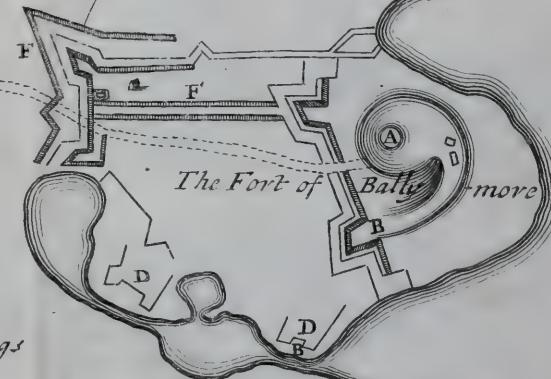
Camp Lines

A Bog

The Lake



or Lough



The Irish
Serjeants hill

- A The Mount
- B Breaches
- C Batteries
- D Fortifications
- E Mortars
- F Fortifications

off; the Serjeant fired upon some of our Men and killed one or two, for which, as soon as the Castle was Surrendred, he was hanged.

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By ten a Clock at night, four Batteries were raised, one below the Hill on the East towards the Lough side, of six Guns, two more of four a piece, towards the Church, and another for four Mortars. On *Munday* the 8th. about Sun-rising these Batteries began to play, and some time after the General sent a Summons to the Governour, *That if he would not deliver up the Place within two hours, he should have the same Treatment that his Serjeant met with the day before.* But he pretending to mistake the Message, and desiring his Excellency to let him have his pleasure in Writing, the General sent a Gentleman again with this following Note.

Since the Governour desires to see in Writing the The General's Message which I just now sent him by word of mouth, he may know, That if he Surrenders the Fort of Bally- more to me within two hours, I will give him and his Garrison their Lives, and make them Prisoners of War; if not, neither he nor they shall have any Quarter, nor another opportunity of saving themselves: However, if in that time their Women and Children will go out, they have my leave.

Message to the
Governour,
sent after-
wards in
Writing.

Given at the Camp this 8th. day
of June, 1691, at 8 a Clock in
the Morning.

Bar De GINCKEL.

O

But

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But nothing less than marching out with Bag and Baggage, Drums beating, Colours flying, &c. would satisfie this Noble Governour: Upon which, the General ordered all our Guns and Mortars to fall to work, the Bombs tearing up the Sandy Banks, and the *Irish* running like Conies from one Hole to another; whilst the Guns were battering the Works and making a Breach, the *Irish* in the mean time did what they could with their two Guns and small Shot; but Lieutenant-Colonel *Burton* their Ingineer, had his Hand shot off from one of our Batteries, and their Works went down apace, which made the *Irish* very uneasie. This Siege however, was very delightful to our whole Army, who had a view of it from the adjoyning Hill. My Lord Justice *Coningesby* also, who was now in the Camp, and stay'd here for some time, having the satisfaction of being an Eye-witness of the forwardness of our Soldiers.

A Parley beat.

About twelve a Clock the Enemy beat a Parley, and hung out a white Flag, but the General would not take notice of it; and our Batteries went on with that success, that two Breaches were made, one in the uttermost Fort next the Town, the other on the Works on the same side within the Island; and the General seem'd resolv'd to Storm the Fort next morning at the coming up of the Tin Boats: there were four large Boats however then in the Camp, which were the Fleet prepared last Year for *Hoard's* Expedition upon the *Shannon*, and were all Winter at *Mullingar*. These the General ordered to be Launched upon the Lough, and filled with Armed Men. The Enemy seeing this, and their Island being altogether open on that side, they were most terrible affraid of being all destroyed: So that about seven a Clock they began to beat a Parley again, and hung out their Flag, begging

Quarter

Quarter for God's sake: which the General hearing, and being in his own temper a very Merciful Man, he was pleased to order the Guns and Mortars to forbear firing; and by eight of the Clock, the Governor and some of the Officers coming out, they surrendered the Place at discretion: Upon which Colonel *Earl*, with eight hundred Fire-Locks, march'd in over the Breach that our Guns had made; and the Enemy, laying down their Arms, were continued Prisoners in the Fort all Night.

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The Fort
surrendred.

June the 9th. About six a Clock in the Morning the General went to view the Fort, wherein were found fifty one Officers, seven hundred and eighty Soldiers, and two hundred and sixty Rapparees, who were most of them Arm'd; these were all sent Prisoners to *Dublin*, and from thence all, except the Officers, were sent to *Lambay*, an Island above a League from the Continent. There were also nigh four hundred Women and Children, all crowded up in this sad place, who were set at liberty. Our Men found also in the Fort four hundred and thirty Sheep, about forty Cows, and fifty Garrans, and good store of Oat-meal. We lost in this Action only eight Men; and the *Irish* had about forty kill'd by our Bombs and Cannon. But it seemed very accountable to most People, that the Enemy neither endeavoured to relieve or quit this place, since they lost in it above a Regiment of their best Men; tho' this was but what they did afterwards at several places nigh *Limerick*.

The 10th. In the Morning early two hundred Men were drawn out to work at the Fort, which the General had ordered to be better fortified by a Line of Com-

Ballymore bet-
ter fortified.

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munication from the Out-works to the *Danish* Fort, and other additions towards the Water-side; our Men fell to work at first in repairing the Breaches, but were obliged to desist by bad Weather; however they levelled all the Batteries and Trenches that we had made against the Fort. And Orders were given out that Night for one hundred Men of a Regiment to be for the Works in the Morning, with a Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign. The Sutlers that were ready to go to *Mullingar* were to have a Guard at the Hospital, where they were to take up what Men were sick or wounded: And the Majors of each Regiment were to have a particular Care that the Mens Arms were fix'd and clean; which Orders were often repeated.

June the 11th. One Captain *Taylor* and two private Men desert from the Enemy, who acquaint us, that my Lord *Tyrconnel*, by a Declaration, dated *May* the 15th, had ordered all the *Rapparees* into *Connaught*, to recruit their Army; and that the General, *St. Ruth*, at his going towards *Athlone*, had ordered Brigadier *Maxwel*'s Men to drive all the Cattle in those parts in the Rear of the Army, for their support; and that the *Irish* talk'd of giving us Battel; tho' they were generally dissatisfied with the few and mean Cloaths sent them out of *France*, and the small allowances of Provisions, &c.

This Evening it was given out in Orders, that the Chaplains should say Prayers at the Heads of their respective Regiments at ten in the Morning and seven at Night, and to admonish the Men from Swearing; a Vice too common at all times amongst us.

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The 12th. the Soldiers were prohibited Gaming ; and all Guards were to be relieved constantly at nine a Clock. Our Line of Communication was then finished, and we were working upon a Spur, Half-Moon, and Horn-Work , with a good Ditch to cover the Draw-Bridge and Entrance to the Out-work. There was also a Bastion begun to the Right, towards the *Lough*, and a large Half-Moon towards the Left, both which command the new uttermost Work ; and the Fort was ordered to be amended by throwing part of it down, and building it a new. A Work was likewise designed along the Lough side to cover those within, that side being open , and none could stir in the Fort but were exposed to Shot from the Hill. A Platform was also designed for eight Guns on the top of the Mount.

The same Day ten Guns and three Mortars, left at *Mullingar*, were brought up ; and four Troopers desert the Enemy, who confirm the Report of their being at *Athlone* with the greatest part of their Army.

June the 13th. One hundred Prisoners were sent from the Camp to *Carne-Castle*, (a place three Miles hence, where the *Rapparees* used to shelter themselves) and demolished it. And stealing being become very common in the Camp, a Fellow was hanged for stealing an Horse ; which wrought some Reformation for a time.

The 14th. and 15th. we continued improving the forementioned Works. On the 16th. a strong Party of Horse was sent to view *Athlone*. And on the 17th. Lieutenant-Colonel *Toby Purcell* was left Governor of *Ballymore*, with four Companies of Lieutenant-General

Douglas's

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Douglas's Regiment, who went himself towards the North, and from thence to *Flanders*. The same Day my Lord *Lisburn* was sent out towards *Lanesborough* with a Party of two thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, who, meeting with a small Party of the *Irish* Horse, kill'd two or three, and the rest fled in haste towards the *Shannon*, but mistaking the Ford one or two more were drown'd. That Evening Orders were given out, That no Sutler or other Person whatever should buy any Ammunition, Arms, or Accoetremens, or any thing that belongs to the Soldiers, on pain of Death; because the Soldiers, for a little Money, would be apt to sell their Cloaths or Shooes. And, if as great Care were not taken of most of them as of Children, they would soon be in a very indifferent condition.

The Army
march to-
wards *Athlone*,
and is joyned
by the Duke
of *Wirtenberg*.

June the 18th. The Army march'd from *Ballymore*, and encamp'd that Night at *Ballyburn* Pass near *Twoy*, where we were joyned by that part of the Army commanded by the Duke of *Wirtenberg* and Count *Nassau*, being all Foreigners, and seven thousand in Number; and now our Army is about eighteen thousand.

The General with a Party of Horse vIEWS *Athlone*, where he could see several of the Enemy's Horse upon the little Hills nigh the Town, and their Camp about two Miles beyond the River upon a narrow Neck of Land between two Boggs, where they remain'd till the Town was taken.

We approach
the Town.

June the 19th. Very early in the Morning our Advance-Party march'd, and by nine a Clock had beat the Enemy from several out Ditches to within the Walls of the *English* Town on this side the River, our Men lodging

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1691.

lodging themselves in the same Ditches. For tho' the *Irish* quitted it the Year before, and burnt the Houses both without and within the Walls upon the approach of Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, yet they design'd to show more Courage this time, and defend this side the River also; which made some blame Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, as guilty of an Over-sight, in not demolishing the Walls when he quitted it the Year preceeding; but those that accompanied him in that Expedition know that he had not time for it. And since the *Irish* seem'd so Brave, the General was resolved to lose no time, ordering three Guns to be planted nigh a Ford on *Lanesborough*-side, which play'd all that Day upon a Breast-Work that the Enemy had on the other side. About six in the Evening our Guns came up to a Battery planted between *Isker* and *Athlone*; and that Night we were hard at work in raising another Battery, on which we mounted nine eighteen Pounders. And,

June the 20th. about eight a Clock in the Morning ^{Batteries} planted. our Battery began to play on a Bastion not far from *Dublin*-Gate; by twelve we made a Breach the breadth of the Bastion, and continued firing to prevent the Enemy from raising any Works within. About three a Clock a Council of War was held, wherein the following Rules were agreed upon, in order to the storming the Place at five. Which, because they show the Method of Attacking Towns by Storm, it will not be impertinent here to insert them.

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*Order of the Attack at ATHLONE the Twentieth
of June, 1691, at Five in the Afternoon.*The Order of
the Attack at
Athlone.

There are to be Commanded from each Wing a hundred and fifty Granadiers, in all three hundred, which are to be Commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, six Captains, twelve Lieutenants, twelve Serjeants, and that Detachment shall be disposed of as followeth.

1. A Lieutenant, Serjeant, and thirty Granadiers; who as soon as they shall enter the Breach, shall take to the Right towards the Bridge, to prevent the Enemies getting that way into the Town; but if they find any Retrenchment before the Bridge, they shall Post themselves in Covert as well as they can thereabouts.

2. After them a Captain, two Lieutenants, two Serjeants, and fifty Soldiers.

3. Then the Lieutenant-Colonel, three Captains, five Lieutenants, five Serjeants, with a hundred and twenty Granadiers, who shall follow the two former Detachments towards the Bridge.

4. After these the Major, with two Captains, four Lieutenants, four Serjeants, and a hundred and ten Granadiers, who are to take to the Left, and clear the Rampart of the Enemy.

5. After these fifty Work-men, whereof Twenty-five are to follow the Lieutenant-Colonel to the Right, and Twenty-five to go after the Major to the Left, with Hatchets, Pick-Axes, Shovels, and Hammers.

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6. After them shall follow the two Battalions of *Stuart* and Prince *Frederick*, whereof *Stuart* is to go to the Right, and Prince *Frederick* to the Left; and the Officers are to take care that the Men do not press on too fast, but cover themselves from the Enemies Fire as soon as they can.

7. After these two Battalions, two hundred Foot to carry Fasernes, and each of them to carry Tools along with them.

8. After these shall follow the Regiments of *Brewer*, to sustain *Stuart*, and Count *Nassau* to sustain Prince *Frederick*.

9. The Work-men are to open, as soon as possible, the two Gates of the Town, that the Horse and Foot may come in that way.

10. The Lieutenant-Colonels, or Major, (or both) that shall come first to the Ford on the left of the Bridge, is to take care to prevent the Enemies Sallying that way; and also, that their Men do not fire one upon another.

11. All these foregoing Detachments are to be Commanded by Major-General *Mackay*, and the Brigadiers *Stuart* and *Vittinghoff*.

To sustain all these, a good Body of Horse were got ready, and a Lieutenant of Colonel *Cambon's* Regiment, according to Orders, having the Advance Party of thirty Men, went under Covert of certain Hills within a hundred and fifty Yards of the Breach, then Advanced upon the Plain before his Men, and the rest of the Detachments following the Enemy fired upon us very smartly; but our Men went on and kept their fire till they were at the Breach, which the French Lieutenant first mounted, throwing his

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*The English
Town taken.*

Granade and firing his Piece, ordering his Men to do the like, and with great bravery encouraged his Party, though he lost his Life in the Action. Our Granades so galled the Enemy, and the Men pressed so fast upon the Breach, that the other quit their Works and run towards the Bridge, whither we pursued them, and even to the foot of the Draw-Bridge; the *Irish* in their hurrying over the Bridge, crowded forwards so fast, that several were crushed to death, and not a few forced over the sides of the Bridge, who were either kill'd or sore bruised. When our Men had possession of the Town they rung the Bell, and covered themselves at the Bridge foot. We lost not above twenty men, and had about double the number Wounded; the Enemy had about sixty killed and more wounded. Brigadier *Stuart* was Wounded in this Action, and one Captain, with three private men of the Enemies taken. Lieutenant-Colonel *Kirk* of Brigadier *Viller's* Regiment, was unfortunately killed by a great Shot from the Town, as he lay viewing the Action upon the side of an Hill. That Evening our three Guns were drawn off from the Ford, and nine Guns from the Battery into the Town.

*Batteries
planted a-
gainst the
Irish-Town.*

June the 21st. several Detachments of Horse were sent abroad, one Commanded by Colonel *Woolsey*, went towards *Ballymore* to meet the eleven Guns and three Mortars that were upon the Road, and also to hasten the Pontoons. This Evening a Battery was begun at the foot of the Bridge to the Right, for five Twenty-four Pounders, and a Floor made for six Mortars.

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The 22d. about five in the Morning, our Batteries were finished, and by six the Cannon and Mortars begun to play very briskly on the North-East side of the Castle where it was weakest, and by seven in the Evening a large Breach appear'd in the Wall. In the Afternoon a *French* Lieutenant-Colonel was brought off by our Men, who had laid under the Bridge since the Attack; he was sore bruised, and his Back almost-broke, but seemed not to be so much afflicted with his own private Misfortune, as in being engaged with a People who were like to prove but very indifferent defenders of his Master the *French* King's Interest in that Kingdom.

The 23d. our Guns and Mortars continued firing all Night with that success, that by five in the Morning the whole side of the Castle was beaten down, and our Bombs had that effect upon it, as to make it very unserviceable to the Enemy, who were now forced to make an Hole on the West side of the Wall to get out and in, though in a day or two they had no business there at all. About two that Afternoon our Tin Boats, Floats, and other Materials, came to the Camp, with Colonel *Byerley's* and my Lord of *Oxford's* Regiments, and a great many People were set to work to repair those Boats that were spoiled the Year before nigh *Limerick*; for there being more New ones expected from *England* than really came, and what we had being judged too few, those Old Boats were brought out of a place where they had been thrown by, and so were fitted up to lay next the Shore; which occasion'd a Report, that they were concealed on purpose by the Store-keeper; but the thing was as it is here related.

The Tin
Boats come
up.

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The same Afternoon a Prisoner was taken nigh the Bridge, who gave an Account, that Sixty-four Men were in a Mill upon the Bridge, which being fired by our Granades, and those within not being able to quench it, nor get thence, they were all consumed with the Fire, except the Prisoner and one more that escaped by leaping into the Water. A Drummer comes to the General from the Town, with an Answer of his Letter, sent the Day before, about the exchange of Prisoners.

The 24th. was spent in raising three Batteries, one below the Bridge, another above it, and a third without the Town-Wall by the River-side, opposite to a Bastion the Enemy had made on the other side the River. That Evening one of my Lord *Lisburn*'s Men going under the Bridge to see for Plunder, found a pair of Colours amongst the dead Men; and tho' the Enemy fired a great many Shot at him, yet he brought them off flying, and presented them to the General, who rewarded the Soldier with five Guinnea's.

We begin now to contrive Methods of passing the River, and a Lieutenant of Horse was commanded with a Party to a Ford towards *Lanesborough*, where the General was informed there might be an easie and undiscovered Passage for most of our Army, whilst our Cannon amused the Enemy at the Town. This Party went and found the Pass according to Information; but tho' he was positively ordered to return as soon as he had passed the River, yet such are the powerful Charms of Black Cattle, to some sorts of People, that the Lieutenant espying a Prey some distance from him on the other side, must needs be scampering after them; by which means our Design was dis-

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discovered, and the Enemy immediately provided against it, by throwing up strong Works on the other side: The Lieutenant, I heard, was afterwards try'd, and suffered for it.

That Night the Enemy raised two Batteries above the Castle, the one close by the River, the other at a greater distance from it upon a rising Ground; the one of four, the other of three six Pounders; with the latter of which, *June 25.* they play'd on the old Walls in the Town, where our Men were lodged, but did little or no harm; with the other they shot into some of our Regiments, encamped near the River, which obliged them to remove to a greater distance. Our Battery of six Twenty-four Pounders below the Bridge, play'd on the Enemy's Breast-Work on the other side, which did it very great Damage, and also ruin'd most of the Houses that were as yet left standing; which so exposed the Enemies other Works to our view, that they were forced to quit most of their Trenches, none appearing but some few behind the Castle.

The 26th. was spent in firing from seven Batteries upon the Enemies Works, and a great many were kill'd in endeavouring to repair them. About thirty Waggon's loaden with Powder come to the Camp; and that Night we possess our selves of all the Bridge, except one Arch at the farther end on *Connaught* side, which was broken down, and we repair another broken Arch in our possession; and all Night our Guns and Mortars play most furiously. For the Design of passing the River at the Ford being frustrate, the General and the other Great Officers resolve to try what can be done in forcing our way through

Seven Batteries now at work.

Athlone

June,
1691.

Athlone it self, and therefore we labour hard to gain the Bridge ; but what we got here was Inch by Inch as it were, the Enemy sticking very close to it, though great Numbers of them were slain by our Guns: And this Service cost us great store of Ammunition.

The 27th. seven *Rapparees* were brought in, being taken at *Ballynehewen* ; to which place the General ordered a Garrison of a Lieutenant and twenty Men. That Afternoon one hundred Carrs came from *Dublin* to the Camp loaden with Cannon-Ball : And all that Day our Guns and Mortars fired without intermission. We raised also a Battery of five Guns in the Meadow below the Town, to stop the way the Enemy had on that side of coming into the Town. And in the Evening our Men burn the Breast-Works the Enemy had on the other side the broken Arch with throwing their Granado's ; for most of these being made of Fascines, and the Weather being hot, they soon dried and easily took fire. That Night we wrought very hard on the last Arch in the Enemies possession. ... So that on,

The Enemy
ruin our
Works.

Sunday the 28th. in the Morning our Beams were laid over and partly planked ; which the Enemy perceiving, they detach'd a Sergeant and ten Men out of Brigadier *Maxwell's* Regiment, being all bold and daring *Scots*, these were all in Armour, and came over their own Works with a design to ruin ours, but were all of them slain ; and yet this did not discourage as many more from setting about the same piece of Service, and they effected it by throwing down our Planks and Beams, maugre all our Firing and Skill, tho' they all lost their Lives

Lives as Testimonies of their Valour, except two who escaped amongst all the Fire and Smoak: This made us resolved to carry on our Work by a close Gallery on the Bridge; which was done. But all last Night and that Morning the Enemy were hard at work, in repairing some old, and making new Trenches in the Meadow opposite to our new Battery; and our Guns are now playing very briskly, especially on a place called *Connaught-Tower*, which stood on the North-side the Castle, and was so solid, that it took up more time to bring down than any one part of the Castle.

This Afternoon a Council of War was held, where-
in it was concluded, That next Morning we should attempt passing the *Shannon*; one Party to go over the Bridge; a second to pass upon the Floats and Pontoons; and a third Detachment were to go over the Ford below the Bridge; where our Horse were also to pass and second the Foot; a large Breach being made on the other side for their entrance. And accordingly at Night Orders were given out, That forty three Granadeers, eighty three private Men, three Captains, five Lieutenants, two Ensigns, and seven Sergeants out of each Regiment, with fifteen Shots a Man, and every one a green Bough in his Hat, should be ready by six a Clock in the Morning under the Walls of the Town, and all to be commanded by Major-General *Mackay*; but the whole to be done with the greatest silence and secrerie imaginable. *Killkenny* was the Word that Night.

The 29th. in the Morning our Men were ready according to Orders, and march'd to the Town-Wall, where they stood at their Arms; but before our Boats

June,
1691

Boats and their Appurtenances could be drawn into the Town it was ten a Clock; and all this Morning we observed great Bodies of the Enemy march into the *Irish Town* (though our Cannon were very troublesome to them) for the *Irish* guessing at our Design, or rather being assured of it by some Deserters, they drew a very considerable Body of their choicest Men to their Works. But whilst these Preparations were making on both sides, the Granadiers of both Parties that defended the Breast-works on the Bridge, throwing Hand-Granadoes one at the other; the Enemies Granadoes set fire to our Fascines that lay close on the broken Arch where our Gallery was, which suddenly flamed so violently, that our Men could not endure the Fire and Smoke that blew in their faces; and though they laboured very hard to extinguish it, yet could not prevent the burning that part of the Breast-work next the broken Arch, but preserved all the rest, by raising another Breast-work on a sudden just behind the burnt one. By this time it was past twelve a Clock, and the Generals finding the Attack upon the Town that way like to cost many Lives, they deferr'd it till new Measures were Consulted on; nor knew they well what to think at present, seeing themselves defeated in so great a Project; and, as it fell out, Providence in all appearance had ordered it for the best; for it's probable, that if our Men had really forced the Bridge at that time, they would have run great hazards in storming the Town, the Enemy being so well provided for them; and then our Retreat could not have been without the ruin of more Men than it has pleased God we lost in all the Actions since. All that Afternoon our Guns continue firing. And also,

June

The Enemy
burn our
close Gallery.

June the 30. Our Canon play without ceasing and in the Afternoon another Council of War was held, wherein the difficulties of staying there any longer were represented, all the Forrage being consumed for several Miles round, so that they must resolve to do something with Expedition, or else to remove with the whole Army to some more likely Pass, which wanted not its inconveniencies neither, since by this means the Enemy were encouraged, and our own men disheartened at the beginning of the Campaign, and not only so, but upon our removing there was a way open for the Enemy even to *Dublin* it self, at least into all the Countries adjacent, by which means we must expose at least our Provisions to hazard, and so be forced to go back to make a defensive, instead of an offensive War; And on the other hand to make an Attack upon the Town, not to succeed, and then be forced to remove wou'd be of more fatal Consequence.

However, the Duke of Wertenberg, the Major Generals, *Mackey*, *Talmash*, *Ruvigny* and *Tetteau*, urged that no brave Action could be attempted without hazard, and considering the goodness of our own men, and the faintness of the Enemy in all great Attacks that had been made upon them, hitherto, they stood up for the probability of the attempt, proffering themselves to be the first that shou'd indeavour to force the Enemies Works in their own persons, (particularly Major General *Talmash*, very forward and instrumental in promoting was of it,) which they happily performed accordingly, for the Detachment drawn down the day before was ordered still to be in a readiness, and the General gave Command that they should be all

A Party order-
ed to pass the
River.

June
1691.
A Council of
War.

June 1. brought down before six a Clock, the usual time for
1691. relieving the Guards, that the Enemy might not
suspect our design, and as a lucky omen to further
the attempt, there came two Officers from the Enemy in the interim, who swam the River, and assured the General that now was his time, for that the Enemy was mighty secure, thinking that having destroyed our Works on the Bridge, we were at a stand what to do, and would certainly draw off, since they thought it impossible to attempt the passing the River in the Face of all their Works, and their Army so near ; that three of the most indifferent Regiments in the *Irish* Army were only then upon Guard, the rest being all very secure in their Camp ; all these Circumstances concurring with the inclinations of our brave Commanders, the signal for the passing the River, was to be the tolling of the Church Bell. About 2000 detacht Men were now ready, and Major General *Mackay* to Command them ; Major General *Tet-tean*, the Prince of *Hess* and Brigadier *La Molliner* were likewise of the Party : And Major General *Tal-marsh* went a Volunteer with a Party of Granadeers Commanded by *Collonel Gustavus Hambleton*. And for the greater encouragement to the Soldiers, the General destributed a sum of Guinea's amongst them, knowing the powerful influence of Gold, tho our Army had as little occasion for such Gratuities (I mean as to that point of whetting their Courage) as any in all the World, and have done as much without them.

The Ford was a little to the left of the Bridge over against a Bastion of the Enemies, where a Breach was made already, and the River being try'd three

ATHLONE

Besieged June 19. taken
the 30. by storm

First Battery of 10 guns

A made a breach at 1st term.

B Breach

C Batteries

D Trenches

E Bridge

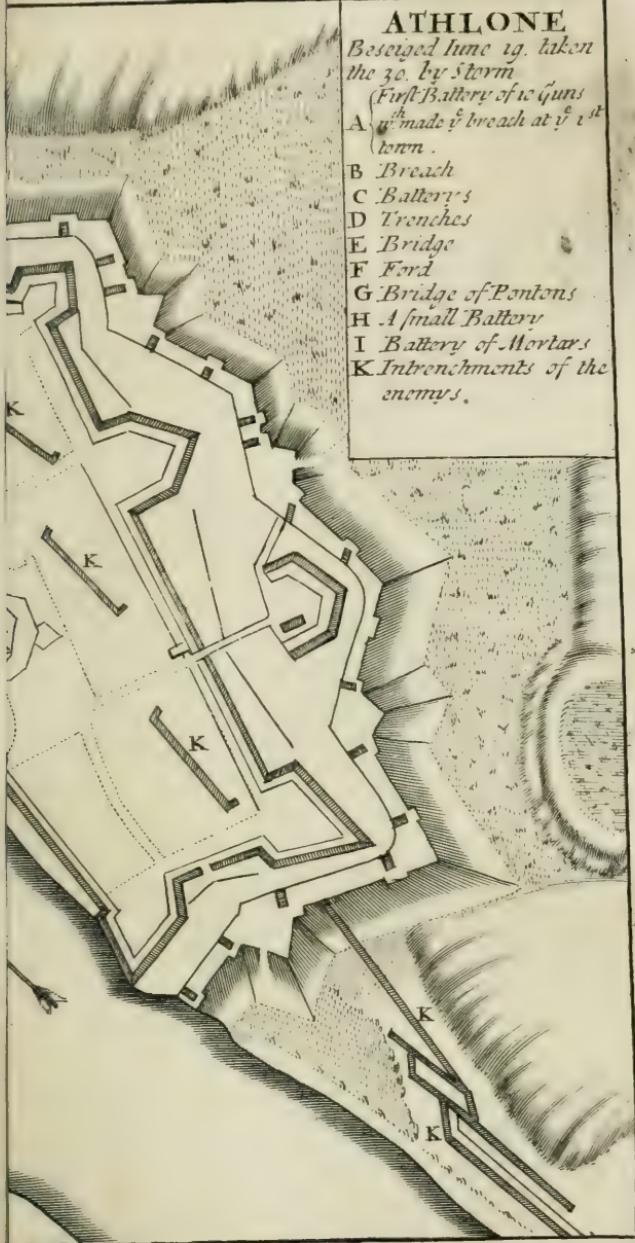
F Ford

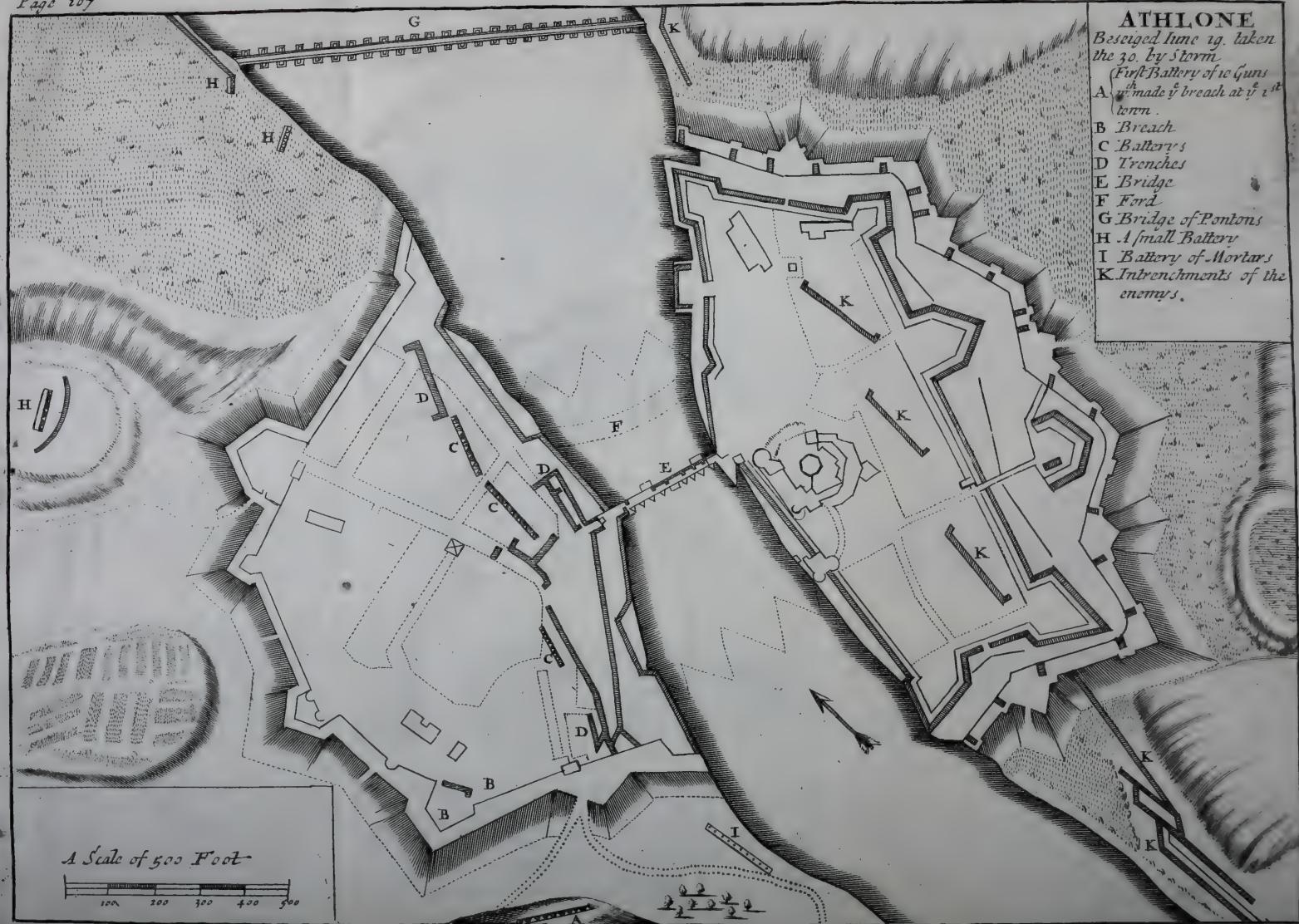
G Bridge of Pontons

H A small Battery

I Battery of Mortars

K Intrenchments of the
enemys.





ATHLONE

Besieged June 15. taken the 30. by storm.

First Battery of 10 Guns

three days before, by three of the *Danes*, (one being a reformed Officer, who with two more, boldly ventured in the face of all their Works, and in opposition to their Vollies which were made at them, and that at Noon-day) and found passable, so that all things being in this order, six minutes past six a Clock, Capt. *Sandys* and two Lieutenants led the first Party of 60. Granadeers all in Armour, and 20 a Breast, seconded by another good Body, who all with an amazing resolution took the River, the Stream being very Rapid and deep, at which time our Great and Small Shot began to play from our Batteries and Works on our side upon the Enemies Works on the other, and they fired as thick as possible for them upon our men that were passing the River, who forced their way thro Fire and Smoak, and, gaining the other Bank, the rest laid Planks over the broken part of the Bridge, and others were laying the Bridge of Boats, by which our men past over so fast that in less than half an hour we were Masters of the Town; and all the Trenches except one beyond the Town, for the *Irish* being amazed at the suddenness of the thing, and the resolution of our men, with no great difficulty began to give ground, and soon after made the best of their way towards their Camp, tho a great many of them were killed in their Works; and yet it's observable that our men when they saw themselves really Masters of the Town, were not at all forward to kill those at their mercy, tho it was in a manner in the heat of Action, but the Rubbish and Stuff thrown down by our Cannon was more difficult to climb over than a great part of the Enemies Works, which occasioned our Soldiers to Swear and Curse even amongst the Bullets

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I 6 9 1.

June 1691. themselves, upon which Major General Mackay told them that they had more reason to fall upon their Knees and thank God for the Victory, and that they were brave men, and the best of men if they would swear less.

What Stores
were found in
Town.

The Soldiers however got good store of Plunder amongst the Ruines, and a great many dead men were found in the Castle; there were six Brass Guns and two Mortars in Town, with about 20 Barrels of Powder, 12 Hogsheads of Meal, some Wheat, and a great many other things. We lost in this Action only 12 men, and Lieutenant Col. *Collumbine* with 4 more Officers and 30 Soldiers wounded: The Enemy they say lost 500 at this attack, and as many more during the Siege as made them 1200, amongst whom were Col. O'Gara, Col. Richard Grace, Col. Art Oge MackMahon, two of the Mack Genness, and several others: there were taken Prisoners Major General Maxwell, a French Adjutant General, Capt. Dalton, one Capt. more, and two Lieutenants, with about 60 private Men.

An Express
sent to Saint
Ruth.

At our mens first entering the River, an Express was sent from the Town to Monsieur St. Ruth, then in the Irish Camp signing Articles against My Lord Tyrconel, as some say, but going out a shooting as others report, who when he heard the news, said it was impossible that the English should pretend to take a Town and be so near with an Army to Succour it, but being very soon assured that the English were actually possest of the place, he lamented his misfortune extreamly, and ordered several Detachments to beat the English out again, but then he was sensible of a former oversight, in not demolishing those Fortifications of Athlone next his own Camp;

Camp, for now the English possesst their own Works entire against themselves. (Tho some say that St. Ruth had given orders for those Works to be thrown down the next day) several Parties however of the Irish, both Horse and Foot came in all hast towards the Town, and stopt their men that were running away at the furthest Trenches: Upon which Col. Gustavus Hambleton advanced with a Party of Granadeers, and there was a pretty warm dispute for some time, and Major-General Maxwell, newly made a Prisoner, was confident they would beat us out again, but when he saw them retreat upon our mens advancing and firing, he was soon convinced of his mistake.

Athlone, it seems in the last Wars, was neither well fortified nor provided, for Sir Charles Coot with 2000. choice Horse and as many Foot went towads Sligoe, and made a shew of sitting down before it; but slipt over the Currue Mountains, and with no great difficulty took Athlone, as also Portumna, whilst Ireton with the main Body of their Army forced Killalow Pass, and sat down before Limerick. But this last was an Action that is scarce to be paralleld in History, that a strong Town shou'd be taken by Storm cross a great and rapid River, when a powerful Army lay within less than two Miles to support it; but the same providential attendanee that waited upon us at first, did now and afterwards assist us.

But it will not be improper to leave the General and his Army for a while at *Athlone*, and see what happened in these active times in several other places of the Kingdom, for tho the Irish had drawn most of their Forces towards *Athlone*, with a design if possible to oppose our passing the *Shannon*, yet they being at this time all of one side, and consequent- ly

June

6 9

June 9. ly very numerous, they ordered matters so, as a great many Rapparees, and some of their Army were left in different parts of the Kingdom, especially in the Counties of Cork, Sligoe, and Kerry, who waited all opportunities to do us what mischief lay in their power, and this was one reason that Col. Coys Horse, and Col. Matthews Dragoons, with Col. Hastings, Sir John Hammers, Princess Anns, Major General Trelawny's, Col. Hale's, the Bandenburg and Danish Regiment of Foot were left in the County of Cork, as well to keep in the Irish on that side, as to secure those Garrisons from any foreign Invasion. My Lord Drogheda's Regement was left in Westmeath, and Col. Mitchelburns; and Col. Vanners in the North; and besides those we had in most places of the Kingdom under their Majesties Government a very active Malitia, who were ready on all occasions to do Service.

A part of our Army left in the Country, and why.

Towards the beginning of June, Major Culliford with a Party of Col. Matthews Dragoons and some Militia, make inroads into the Enemies Quarters, and bring several Preys from thence, but with little loss of men to either side. But hearing that a Party of the Enemys Horse and Foot, to the number of 2000 or more (as was reported) were ordred to defend a part of the County of Cork and that of Kerry, from whence the Irish had got greatest part of their Relief the preceeding Winter, and were in hopes still so to do, Major Culliford with 120. of Col. Matthews Dragoons and 50 Militia Foot, surprised two of the Enemies Troops, killed about 20. and pursued the rest to Newmarket, where we killed 15 more, and took a prey, and after that went four Miles further in hopes of a greater

Major Culliford surprises some of the Enemy.

greater, which we met with: But Sir *James Cotter* being high the place with about 500 Horse and Dragoons fell upon our men as they were in disorder, killed 20 and took as many Prisoners: Major *Culliford* with 80 men made good their retreat, and in the mean time 24. Militia and a 11. Dragoons got to a place called *Drumnaugh*, with part of the Prey, and 28. of our men under Capt. *Bower* did the Enemy some mischief in their drawing off, killing 23, or there abouts. The same day Col. *Hastings*, Col. *Ogelby*, &c. with 200. of the Army and 500 Militia, being at *Ballymagoly*, and understanding Major *Culliford's* danger, they marched beyond *Ballyclegny* to his Relief, where the Enemy had lined some Hedges, but our men forced them from thence, and that Evening killed 150, next morning relieving those who took unto *Drumnaugh*, killing 13, and burning all the Country thereabouts.

Nigh the same time our Militia kill and take several Rapparees near *Cashell*, and Major *Welden* with a party from *Mountmellick* kills 14. A party also of Col. *Woolsey's* Horse being Detach'd to scowre the Country about *Bally-Boy* killed 50. Rapparees at several times.

Judge *Cox* being made Governour of the Militia in the County of *Cork*, Fortifies *Iniskean*, and puts a Garrison in it, sending some of the Militia under Col. *Townsend* towards *Bantree*, where they killed nigh a 100 Rapparees, and brought off good store of Plunder; and Col. *Hastings* from *Cork* seizes upon *Drummanner*, a considerable Post near the *Black Water*.

June 1691

Judge *Cox* orders *Iniskean* to be fortified.

June the 17. A Party marched from *Cashel* and *Clonmell*, who were in expectation of meeting with

June 400. Irish nigh Typerary, but they having notice of it, withdrew, only our Party met with about 30, most of whom were killed and the Town Burnt. The Rapparees near Roscreagh had a design to steal the Cattle of that Town, but in the effecting of it 12. were killed, and the Prey rescued. Capt. White, and some of the Militia went towards the Bogg of Allen, where they killed 13, and the rest with Mackabe their Leader escaped for that time.

June the 19. A Party of the Earl of Drogheda's Regiment went from Athy to a place called Clonmellera, having along with them Sir Thomas Atkins High Sheriff of the Queens County, and a Party of the Militia; their design was to surprize several notorious Rogues, whom they had information were Harboured in that place; they kill'd about 8. or 10, tho they did not meet with those Rogues that they expected.

June the 20. Two Rapparees were kill'd at Capperquin, and two at the Gaultire; and nigh the same time there was a party of a ragged Irish Regiment called the Prince of Wales's, under one Delany a Franciscan Fryer near Castle-Town, not far from Cashell, who being frighted with a Rumour that part of our Forces were marching that way, they all indeavour'd to shift for themselves. Three of our Danes were surprized, near Clonmell, and carry'd to the Mountains, but they and a Militia Trooper getting loose in a place where the Rapparees had bound them, kill'd three Rapparees and got safe home; Ten more were kill'd near Thurles, and Twelve a day or two after near Bally-Boy, as also two of Lutteriths Dragoons.

My Lord Blaney, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Monahan, having ordered the Militia of that County to be in Arms, they kill'd 7 Rapparees at one time, and 5 at another in the County of Monahan, and two more in the County of Armaugh; his Lordship by his diligence being very instrumental in keeping in the Irish from making Excursions from those parts about Sligoe. And towards the latter end of June the Lords Justices, by a Proclamation, ordered the Weekly Fast to be renewed, and every Friday to be set a part for craving the assistance of Almighty God, in prospering of our Fleet and Army.

June 1
69 1.

C H A P. VI.

The Irish Army Decamp. The Dead buried at Athlone. The Enemy resolve to give us Battle. The Works of Athlone repaired. A party of our Horse surprized. The Irish Prisoners sent to Dublin. The Lords Justices Despatch to the Irish. Our Army march from Athlone. The Enemies Camp and Posture described. The Orders that Night. Monsieur St. Ruth's supposed Sp. lib to the Irish. Our Army in sight of the Enemy. The Line of Battle. The Battle of Agtrim. A party of our Foot beat off. Reinforced by Major General Talmaish, they beat the Enemy. Monsieur St. Ruth kill'd. Their Army Routed. The number of the Dead. And of the Prisoners. Our loss at the Battle. Instances in former Battles, wherin the Irish have been Routed, with little loss to the English. An account of some Irish Prophecies. Our Army lye upon their Arms that night. Brigadeer Eppinger goes towards Portumna. Loughrea deserted

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1691.

by the Irish. Our Army march thither. Then to Athenree. The General goes towards Galway. The Town described. Sicks laid to it. Major General Mackay passes the River. A Fort taken. The Irish beat a party. Hostages exchanged. The Articles of Surrender. Our Army return towards Limerick. A Brief account of what hapned in other places of the Kingdom, during this Month.

The Irish Army decamp.

THE first of July, My Lord Portland's Regiment of Guards Landed at Dublin, and marcht in two or three Days towards the Camp; upon our taking the Town, Mons. St. Ruth with the Irish Army decamped that night, and marcht towards Milton Pass; and next day about 10 a Clock their Reer Guard of Horse stood on the other side of Melahy, their Foot vanishing out of sight toward Ballynafoe: for Monsieur St. Ruth, being out-done in so considerable a matter as the losing Athlone, he was resolved to retieve his loss or Dye, since he could not be answerable to his Master that employed him for what had already happened: and therefore he used all the means possible to strengthen his Army & find out a convenient place of advantage to try his Fortune in, since he saw that we were not shye in affording him opportunities; & now he begins to be very kind to, and familiar with the Irish Officers, whom formerly he had treated with Disrespect, and Contempt; and to Caress the Soldiers; tho a little before, he would Hang a Dozen of them in a morning, for very slender faults, as they thought: he draws therefore his Army into the most convenient posture he could, to watch our Motions.

The Dead about Athlone Buried.

The first thing our General did after the Town was taken, was to order the Dead in and about the Town to be buryed; and in the Evening all our Army was drawn

drawn up, and 41 pieces of Cannon fired three rounds, being seconded by the Horse and Foot, and then followed Bonfires for Joy that the Town was taken, which had cost us 12000 Cannon Bullets, 600 Bombs, nigh 50 Tun of Powder, and a great many Tun of Stones shot out of our Mortars.

July

6 9 1.

But after the Town was taken, the Soldiers were many of them unruly, and committed several outrages; therefore it was given out in Orders that night, that no Soldier should go to the Town, or over the Water, on pain of Death: and the Sutlers that went to *Dublin*, were ordered to go to the Hospital, and take up the sick and wounded Men. And here let me observe once for all, that we had much better conveniencies for our Sick and Wounded this Campaign than formerly, having a great many large Tents set up in form of a Quadrangle, with Quilts and other conveniencies for every Soldier: nor was Dr. *Lawrence*, Physician to the Army; *Charles Thomson* Esquire, Chirurgeon General; Mr *Thomas Proby*, and the rest of the Chirurgeons wanting in their careful industry to recover and heal the Sick and Wounded; which no doubt must be a great encouragement to the poor Soldiers, when they know that if any misfortune attends them, they shall undoubtedly be taken care for.

July the 2d. We had an account by some Deserters, that the Enemies Foot were gone beyond *Balynasloe*, and their Horse were Encamp't on this side of it; that they resolved to stay thereabouts and Fight us, tho' at present they were in a great Consternation, and seem'd doubtful of their own performances. A great many of the Country people and Deserters came hourly in, and the General gave them all protections, assuring them that they shou'd be kept Inviolable against any of our Army or others, resolving to punish the Offenders with Death: but on the other hand expected all con-

The Enemy
Resolve to
give us Battle.

July

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formity of dutiful Subjects to their Majesties from them : and if any were found to carry Intelligence to the Enemy, or harbour , succour or conceal them, they should suffer Death for it. This day the General had an account from one Capt. *Aughmouty*, that the Enemy had quitted *Laneburgh*, and that he with his Troop had possest himself thereof.

The Works of
Athlone repair-
ed.

July the 3d. The General commanded his Army to begin the repairing the Works of *Athlone*, which were strangely shattered by our Cannon, and not one House left whole in all the Town : Especially the Castle, which was beat down to the ground on the South-east side, as was also the Tower within it ; we fell to work therefore, and put some few shattered Houses in a condition to hold our Magazines and Stores, which were daily coming up from *Dublin* and *Mullingar*, and without which we could not march forwards. That morning *William Robinson* Esquire, one of the Pay-masters to the Army, came with Money, as also many Waggons and Carts, with Ammunition and other Mecessaries. A Trumpeter returns with an answer of a Letter sent to the Enemy, about the exchange of Prisoners.

The Fourth proved very Rainy , yet our Men were employed in clearing the Streets; repairing the Breaches, and mounting four of the Enemies Guns taken in the Town, upon some of our spare Carriages. That Evening a Party of 20 Horse and ten of *Kirk's* Grenadeers mounted were sent out to view the Enemies Camp, being Guided and Commanded by one *Higgins* a Converted Priest ; but they fell into an Ambush of 400 of the Enemies Horse, in the Woods of *Clanoul*, our men defended a Bridge, and fought stoutly for some time, but were at last broke, 15 kill'd, and 4 taken Prisoners, the rest escaping with *Higgins*, who was sadly Wounded.

A party of our
Horse sur-
prized.

The

The 5th. Major General *Maxwell*, and other Prisoners were sent towards *Dublin*, but some of them make their escapes. Three out of *Col. Parker's*, and as many out of My Lord *Antrim's* Regiments deserted to us. The 6th. one of our men taken Prisoner, two days before was released by Lieutenant General *Sheldon*; and that Evening it was given out in Orders, to be ready to march by 5 in the morning, the left Wing over the Pontoons, and the right Wing over the Bridge, which was now repaired, and every Soldier was to have 15 shot of Powder. The 7th. the Army marched over the River, and a Prisoner that had made his escape going to *Mullingar* was taken nigh *Banoher*, and having stole a Horse, he was hanged with a Rapparee, guilty of the like Fact: Capt. *Villers* returns with 30. Horse from viewing the Enemy still at *Balynasloe*, and the Militia possess some Passes upon the *Shanon*. And because a Declaration published thisday by the Lords Justices, by direction from *England*, made a great noise, both in the Enemies Camp and ours; as also all the Kingdom over, during the remainder of the Campaign, being that upon which the Articles of *Galway* and *Limerick*, and all the *Irish* Capitulations were afterwards founded, it will not be amiss here to give you the Declaration it self, at large as it was Published.

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The Prisoners
sent to Dublin.

*By the Lords Justices of Ireland, a Proclamation.**Charles Porter, Tho. Coningsby.*

SInce it hath pleased Almighty God to give so great Success to their Majesties Arms, toward the Reduction of the Kingdom of Ireland, that in all probability the whole must in a short time be brought under Their Majesties

July

1691. sties Obedience, with great Effusion of Blood and Destruc-
tion of Their Majesties Enemies: Their Most Excellent
Majesties in Compassion to their Seduced Subjects, to
avoid further Effusion of Blood, and that nothing on Their
Majesties part be wanting to Incourage and Invite all who
are now in Arms against Them, to subject themselves to
Their Obedience and Government, have Commanded us. And
we the Lords Justices of this Kingdom, by Their Majesties
special Direction and Command, do by this Our Proclama-
tion Publish, Declare, and Promise, that All and Every
the Private Souldiers, now in Arms against Their Majes-
ties, in the Enemies Army, who shall within three Weeks
(after the Date of this Our Proclamation) surrender up
Themselves, their Horse, Arms and Furniture, to the Com-
mander in Chief, or any other Their Majesties Officers,
shall not only be paid a reasonable Rate for their Horse,
Arms and Furniture, which they shall so deliver up, but
shall be fully and freely Pardon'd, of all Treasons, and
other Crimes and Offences against Their Majesties; and
that All and Every Person or Persons, who now are Gover-
nours, Officers, Commanders or Souldiers of or in any Ci-
ties, Towns, Forts, Castles, or other Garrisons in Their
Kingdom of Ireland, not already under Their Majesties Pow-
er and Obedience, who shall surrender, deliver and yield
up any such City, Town, Fort, or Garrison, unto the Ge-
neral or other Officer of Their Majesties Army, within three
Weeks after the Date of this Our Proclamation; and All
other Officers and Souldiers now serving or being in the Ere-
mies Army or Quarters, who shall within three Weeks time
after the Date of this Our Proclamation, come in, and
bring with them their Regiments, Troops, or Companies,
or some considerable part thereof, and submit themselves to
Their Majesties Obedience, and deliver up their Horses,
Arms and Furniture of War, they and every of them, both
Officers and Souldiers, shall be fully, freely, and absolutely
Pardon'd

Pardoned of all manner of Treasons, Crimes or Offences, committed against Their Majesties, Their Crown and Dignity; and shall also be Restored to, and put in Possession of all their Estates forfeited for such Treasons, Crimes and Offences; and if any Citizens, and Inhabitants, or other Persons, Residing in the City of Limerick, or Town of Galway, shall within the time aforesaid, either of themselves, or by joyning with any other, be Instrumental, or assisting in delivering up either of the said Places, to Their Majesties Obedience, they and every of them shall be likewise fully, freely, and absolutely Pardoned of all manner of Treasons, Crimes or Offences committed against Their Majesties, Their Crown and Dignity; and shall also be Restored to, and put in Possession of all their Estates forfeited for such Treason, Crimes or Offences; and we do hereby further Publish and Declare, that if any Officers and Souldiers now in Command in the Enemies Army, or in any of the Cities, Castles, Forts, or Garrisons of the Enemy, not having any Estates forfeited, or to which he or they can be Restored, shall render unto Their Majesties any of the Services aforesaid, such Person and Persons, Officers and Souldiers, shall be fully and liberally Rewarded, by the General of Their Majesties Army, in such or greater Proportion, as the Services by them done shall deserve; and such of the said Officers and Souldiers as shall desire to Enter into Their Majesties Pay, shall be Received in the like or better Post and Condition, as they now Serve under the Enemy; and lest those who are to take Benefit by this Proclamation may be Apprehensive of being prosecuted for Exercising their Religion, tho' Their Majesties have sufficiently manifested to the World, by the Rest and Quiet not only Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom, but those of England, have enjoyed under Their Government, may be sufficient to Remove any such Apprehensions, we are commanded further to Publish & Declare; And we do Hereby Publish and Declare, that as soon

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July 1691. soon as Their Majesties Affairs will permit them, to Summon a Parliament in this Kingdom, They will endeavour to procure them such further security, in these particulars, as may preserve them from any disturbance, upon the account of their Religion; and we do hereby Advise and Admonish all such Persons who still Adhere to the Enemy, Carefully and Prudently to consider the ill Estate and Condition whereunto they are Reduced, and seriously to recollect into their Minds and Memory, the Quiet and Blessed Estate and Security which they enjoyed under the English Government; and the vast difference betwixt that and the Tyranny of France; and withal, the terrible Consequences which must follow, if they any longer neglect returning to their Duty, and thereby lose the Benefit of Their Majesties most Benign, and Gracious Compassion and Intention towards them.

Given at Their Majesties Castle of Dublin, the 7th. Day of July, 1691. in the Third Year of Their Majesties Reign.

God Save the KING and QUEEN.

July the 8th. all the heavy Baggage was a passing over the River, and it was ordered that the Officers of the Quarter-Guards should go frequent Rounds, and send all the Souldiers they found Gameing, or Drinking, after Taptoe, to the Provoe's; the General being much displeased at such Disorders, by means of which a great many irregular things were done, especially, Plundering, and Robbing of Tents, which yet was continued (tho' several were made Examples) to the very end of the Campaign. It was also ordered that an Account of all those that were killed and wounded, since our coming to this Town, should be returned to the Adjutant General.

General, which was about Sixty Killed and a Hundred and Twenty wounded.

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And that the General might leave nothing unattempted which might contribute to the bringing the Enemy over by fair means, he settled Allowances of Subsistence to all Persons that would come off, according to their several Qualifications (viz.) Collonels of Horse, and Dragoons 11*l.* 10*s.* per Month ; and Foot 10*l.* per Month, and so proportionably to every one.

July the 9th. proved a very hot day, till about 5 in the Afternoon, when it fell a Raining, and then such Thunder, Hail, and a Hurrycane of Wind, as the like had scarce been seen before, this continued for two Hours, in which time two Men, and a Boy, were killed by Lightning, and two or three more hurt in the Prince of *Hess*'s Regiment.

Extraordinary
Rains and
Thunder.

The Town being now pretty well cleared, and new Works raised on *Conaught* side. On Friday the 10th. of July, the General having left Col. *Lloyd* Governour of *Athlone*, with his own, and Lieut. Gen. *Douglas*'s Regiments, he moved forwards with the Army, and Encamped that Night at *Killcashel*, 7 Miles nearer to the Enemy, whence the General went to view the Pass at *Ballynasloe*, a small Village upon the River *Suck*, where stands a Castle, built formerly by the Ancestors of my Lord *Clanrickard* ; from hence the Enemy was retired 3 Miles further.

Our Army
March from
Athlone.

Saturday the 11th. we marcht to *Ballynasloe*, and encampt along the River *Suck*, upon the *Roscommon* side ; this is a good Pass, and the *Irish* might have given us some trouble in gaining it ; but that they had found out a much better place as will soon appear. As our Army was Encamping, our Great Officers went to the Hills of *Knocksdunloe*, in the County of *Galway*, about a Mile distant from our Camp, from whence they could

march toward them next day ; and therefore it was given out in Orders at Night, that all the Army (except two Regiments left to Guard the Baggage) should be under Arms next Morning without beat of Drum, and no Baggage to stir, nor any Tents to be removed, nor yet any to march with the Regiments but such as carry Arms, and those to march as strong as possible, with all their Arms fixt and clean ; those that wanted Ammunition were presently to have it from the Stores ; the Granadiers were to be drawn to the Right and Left of each Regiment, with two Shells a piece, and five Pyoniers to be ready at the Head of each Regiment when called for ; the *Word*, that Night, was *Dublin*.

Monsieur *St. Ruth*, at the approach of our Army, seeing us resolved to give him Battel, he gave his Men all the due Encouragement that possibly he could, ordering Masses and Prayers to be said in all Parts of the Army. And as the Report goes, the *Irish* were obliged by their Priests not to give Quarter to any Soul living, but to pursue every Man to Destruction, they being assured of a most glorious Victory ; and *St. Ruth* himself is said to have made the following Speech, to the *Irish*, the day before the Battel, it being found afterwards amongst the Papers of his Secretary, who was killed in the Field.

Gentlemen and Fellow Souldiers,

I Suppose it is not unknown to you, and the whole Christian World, what Glory I have acquired, and how Successful and Fortunate I have been in Suppressing Heresie in France, and propagating the Holy Catholick Faith, and can without Vanity boast my Self the happy Instrument of bringing over thousands of poor deluded Souls from their

Monsieur St. Ruths supposed Speech to the *Irish*.

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errors, who owe their Salvation to the pious care of my thrice Illustrious Master, and my own Industry, assisted by some holy Members of our unspotted Church: while great numbers of those incurable Hereticks have perished both Soul and Body by their obstinacy.

It was for this reason that the most Puissant King my Master, Compassionating the miseries of this Kingdom, hath chosen me before so many worthy Generals to come hither, not doubting but by my wonted Diligence I should Establish the Church in this Nation, on such a foundation as it should not be in the power of Hell or Hereticks hereafter to disturb it: And for the bringing about of this Great and Glorious Work, next the Assistance of Heaven, the unresistable Puisance of the King my Master, and my own Conduct; the great dependance of all good Catholicks is on your Courage.

I must confess since my coming amongst you, things have not answered my wishes, but they are still in a posture to be retrieved, if you will not betray your Religion and Countrey, by an unseasonable Pusillanimity.

I'm assured by my Spyes, that the Prince of Oranges Heretical Army, are resolved to give us Battle, and you see them even before you ready to perform it. It is now therefore, if ever that you must indeavour to recover your lost Honour, Priviledges and Fore-fathers Estates: You are not Mercenary Souldiers, you do not fight for your Pay, but for your Lives, your Wives, your Children, your Liberties, your Countrey, your Estates; and to restore the most Pious of Kings to his Throne: But above all for the propagation of the Holy Faith, and the subversion of Heretick. Stand to it therefore my Dears, and bear no longer the Reproaches of the Hereticks, who Brand you with Cowardise, and you may be assured that King James will Love and Reward you: Louis the Great will protect you; all good Catholicks will appland you; I my self will

Ge
Duk
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of Left Wing

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BAT

Major Gen^l La Forrest
Brigadeer Eppinger

Major Gen^l La Forrest
Brigadeer Eppinger

Major Gen^l Holstaple
Brigadeer Schack

Major Gen^l Holstaple
Brigadeer Schack

Major Generall Tetteau
Brigadeer La Meloniere

Major Generall Tetteau
Brigadeer La Meloniere

Major Gen^l Count Nassau
Prince of Hesse Brigadeer

Major Gen^l Count Nassau
Prince of Hesse Brigadeer

Lievt Generall Ginckell
The Duke of Wirtemberg

Major Gen^l Mackay
Brigadeer Bellasis

Major Gen^l Mackay
Brigadeer Bellasis

Major Gen^l Mackay
Brigadeer Bellasis

Lievt Generall Scravemore
Brigadeer Villers

Lievt Generall Scravemore
Brigadeer Villers

Lievt Generall Scravemore
Brigadeer Villers

Right Wing

Kirk

Kirk

Right Wing

Langston

Langston

Right Wing

Ruivigny

Ruivigny

Right Wing

Villers

Villers

Left Wing

La Meloniere

La Meloniere

Left Wing

Du Cambon

Du Cambon

Left Wing

Belcastell

Belcastell

Left Wing

Freken

Freken

Left Wing

Danish

Danish

Left Wing

Schack

Schack

Left Wing

Nienhuse

Nienhuse

Left Wing

Zullich

Zullich

First Line

Leveson

Leveson

Second Line

Cunningham

Cunningham

First Line

Winn

Winn

Second Line

Laneir

Laneir

First Line

Moyley

Moyley

First Line

Tiffin

Tiffin

First Line

Earle

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Stuart

Stuart

First Line

St. Johnnes

St. Johnnes

First Line

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Math

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Nassau

Nassau

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Lgyd

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Prince of Hesse

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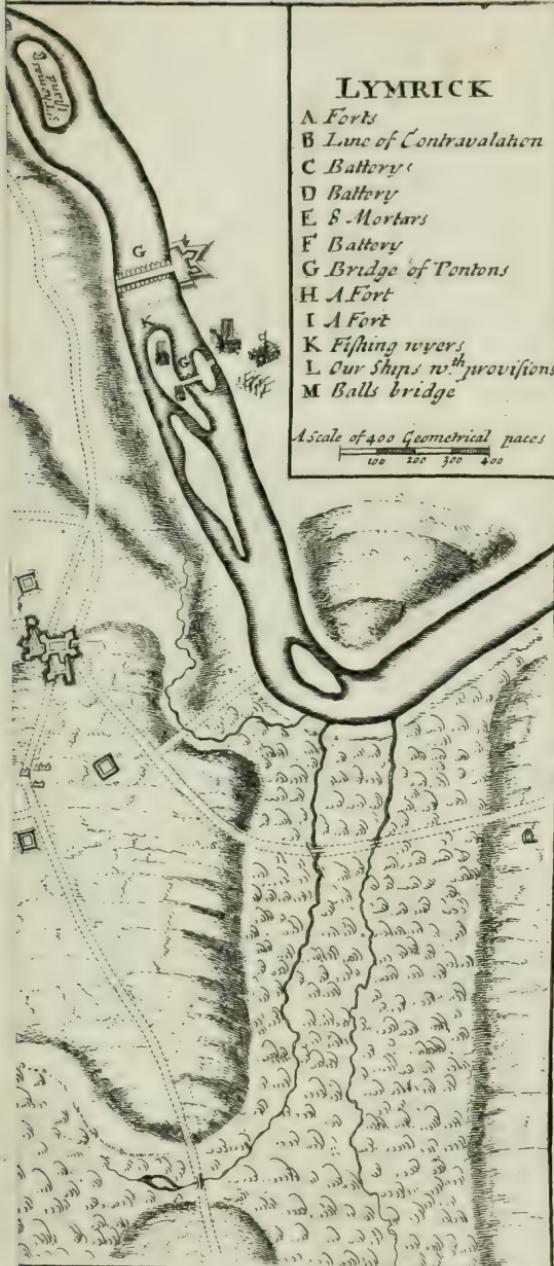
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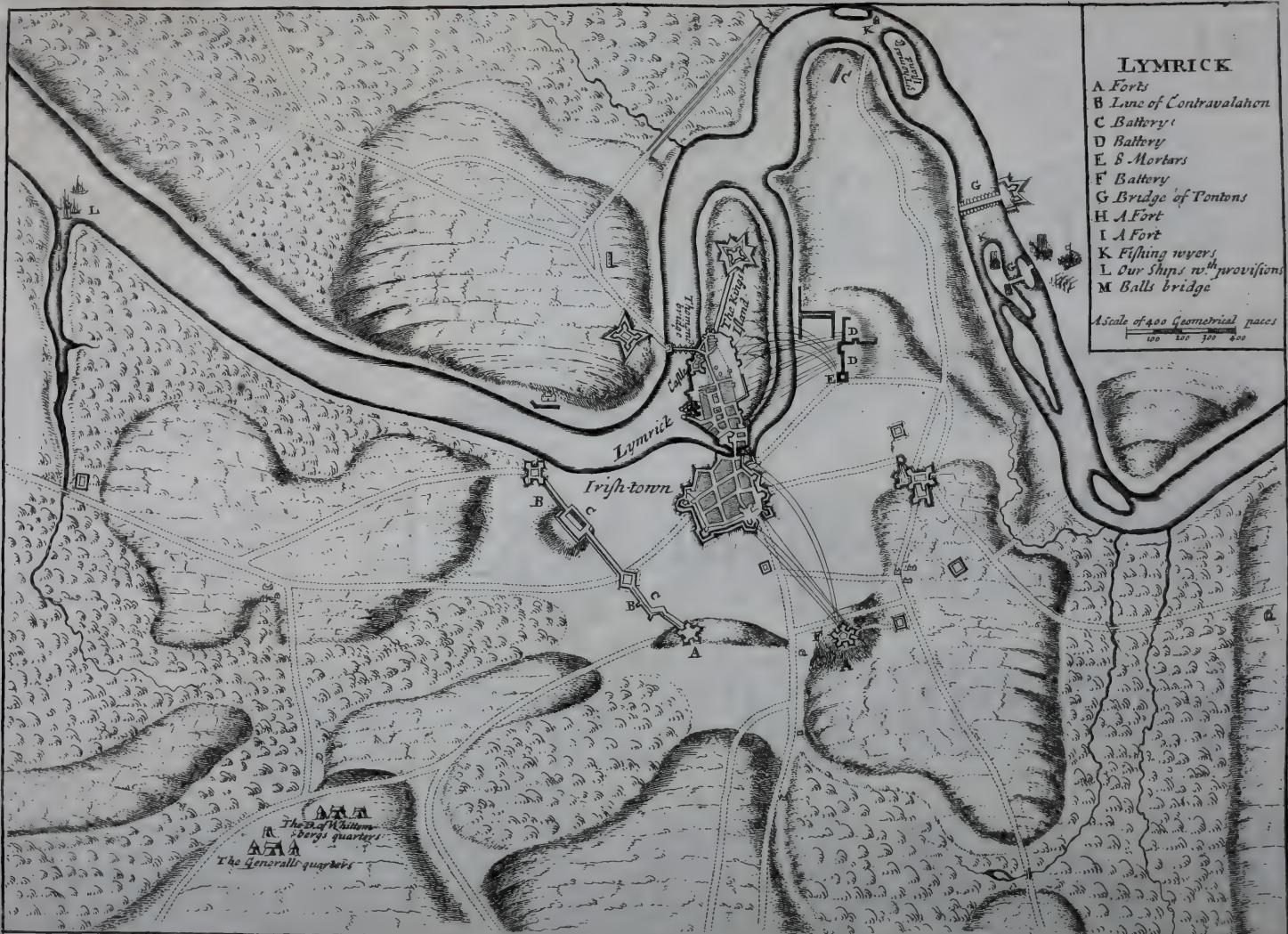


Our Army
march in sight
of the Enemy.

LYMICK

- A Forts
- B Line of Contravallation
- C Batteries
- D Batteries
- E Mortars
- F Batteries
- G Bridge of Pontons
- H A Fort
- I A Fort
- K Fishing rivers
- L Our ships wth provisions
- M Balls bridge

A scale of 400 Geometrical paces



will Command you ; the Church will pray for you, your
Posterity will bless you ; Saints and Angels will Caress
you ; God will make you all Saints, and his holy Mother
will lay you in her Bosome.

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Titus Livius before a Battle, frequently brings in
the *Reman* Generals saying a great many fine things,
and making long Speeches, which possibly they never
dreamt of, tho' most of them were well bredmen; and
if they did make use of those Speeches, that way of
treating Armies is now quite out of Fashion, especially
it's improbable it should be done by a General, who un-
derstood as little *Irish* as most of his Army did *French* :
Nor is it to be believed that Monsieur St. *Ruth* was a
man of that Boasting vain-glorious humour that this
Speech makes him, tho' I have heard from some of the
Irish Officers since, that he told them they had gained
the Character of Cowards both at home and abroad,
and now was their time to retrieve it, and that they
Fought for their Religion, King and Country, &c.
However it was, all who saw the spot of Ground he
had made Choice of, can but admire his Conduct in
this particular : And no doubt his Army had all the
Masses, Persuasions, and other encouragements that could
be thought of; amongst the rest that powerful one
of Brandy, which made a Dragoon of ours tell some
of their Prisoners after the Battle, that they had the ad-
vantage of us, both in Prayers and Brandy : The *Eng-*
lish being indeed too remiss in point of Devotion, not
looking up to that Power, to which we are most in-
debted, for all that we can pretend to that's Good.

But to return to our own Army, *Sunday* July the 12. about Six in the Morning we marcht, the Foot over the Bridge ; the *English* and *French* Horse at the Foord above, and the Dutch and *Danes* over two Foords be-
low, with directions to put themselves in order of Bat-
tle

Our Army
march in sight
of the Enemy.

July 1691. tle when all past the River, which was done on a kind of uneven hilly Ground, and the method being agreed before, the two lines of Battle were thus, as in the Copper Plate are described..

It's to be observed that My Lord *Portland's* Horse is not in this Line of Battle, because they came not up till after it was ordered; hower they had their full share in the *Acton*, and Col. *Foulks's* Regiment was always to guard the Train, but being then convenient for it, and the General resolving to make all the Force he could, they had also their part, both of the Honour and Service of the Action. And tho *Brigader Stuart* is there set down, it's only as to his Post, for he was then at *Dublin* ill of his Wounds received at *Athlone*. Col. *Lloyds* Regiment was also in Garison at *Athlone*, and two more left at *Balynasloe*, so that we were not altogether so strong as this Line of Battle makes us.

In this order (the Morning proving Foggy) our Army stood till nigh 12 a Clock, and then were Commanded to Advance, the General going with a party before to view the Enemy, and perceiving some of their out Scouts upon the Hills, ordered a party to beat them thence, upon whose advance the Enemy retired from place to place, till they were within half a Mile of their Camp, by which means the General had an opportunity from an high Hill to the Right of the Enemy, to view their whole Army, posted as before described: by which posture, they had the advantage by at least 1000 men, but being assured of the valour of his Army, the General resolved to draw nearer, and expect what further opportunities of advantage might offer, in order to which, and for the security of our own Army, he saw the necessity of gaining that Pass to the Right of the Enemy, called *Ura-chree*, where the *Irish* had some men posted, he sent therefore a *Danish* Captain with 16 Troopers to force it, but

but the men run away from a less number than themselves, tho the Officer behaved himself very well, and the rest retrieved their Honour afterwards; upon this the General ordered two Hundred of Sir *Albert Cunningham's* Dragoons to march to certain Ditches, nigh the said Foord, to keep the Enemy from coming over, and in the mean time our Army was marching forwards; by this time it was Two a Clock, and the General finding the necessity of having that Foord, and other ways that led to the Right of the Enemy, as the most proper ways to assault them, he ordered *Cunninghams* Dragoons, at the Ditch, to advance towards a Party of the Enemy that stood on the other side, & were sustained by a considerable Body, behind the Houle of *Urachree*, all which, at the advancing of our Dragoons, retired behind an Hill nigher their Camp, and where a greater Body was posted; then some of our Dragoons pressing on too far were obliged to retreat a little disorderly, the Enemy sustaining their Men by several fresh Parties, which the General perceiving, he ordered *Briggadeer Eppinger's* Dragoons to get between them and their Camp; but this was discovered by the Enemy, who had the advantage of pouring in so many Men upon us that they would have been too hard for our Dragoons still, if they had not been quickly seconded by greatest part of the Earl of *Portlands* Horse, who behaved themselves with great Bravery, and lost several Men and Horses in this part of the Action: And what was at first only a Skirmish, had by this time engaged a considerable Body on both sides, fresh Parties being still sent out, tho after about an hours dispute, the Enemy were obliged to retire in some Disorder, over the Brook, that flanked the Right of their Army, no considerable damage being done as yet to either side.

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Then all things seemed pretty quiet for a while, and our General Officers coming together, began to consult whither it was fit to give the Enemy Battel that Night, considering the disadvantages we were to expect in Attacking them, some therefore were for deferring the Battle that Night, and so to fall on by break of day next Morning, which was so far agreed to as that our Tents were ordered to be sent for, and pitched along the other side the Bogg; but then perceiving the Enemy to be in some Disorder by what had already happened, they concluded not to delay their Attack, lest the Enemy should March off in the Night, and so afford us no more opportunities; it was therefore agreed to prosecute the Battel on the Enemies Right, by that means proposing to draw part of their strength from *Aghrim Castle*, nigh which their main Body was posted, that so our Right might have the easier Passage over to Attack their Left, and then our whole Army might have opportunity to engage. This (I am told) was the Advice of Major General *Mackay*; a Man of great Judgement, and long Experience, and it had its desired Success.

Our Army was disposed of as you see in the Line of Battel, only the General moved up and down as he saw occasion, as did also the rest of the General Officers; and before the Battel began, there was no distance left between the first and second Line, since a great part of the second Line were the first that engaged. The *Irish* Army was commanded by Monsieur *St. Ruth*, Lieutenant General *D'usson*, Monsieur *De' Tesse*, Lieutenant General *Sarsfield*, Major General *John Hambleton*, Major General *Dorington*, and several other.

About half an hour past Four in the Afternoon, a part of our Left Wing moved towards the Enemy, and by Five the Battel began a fresh. A Party of our Foot marched

marched up to their Ditches, all strongly guarded with Muskietiers, and their Horse posted advantageously to sustain them : here we fired one upon another for a considerable time, and the *Irish* behaved themselves like Men of another Nation, defending their Ditches stoutly ; for they would maintain one side, till our Men put their Pieces over at the other, and then having Lines of Communication, from one Ditch to another, they would presently post themselves again, and flank us ; this occasioned great firing on both sides, which continued on the Left nigh an hour and an half, e're the Right of our Army, or the Centre engaged, except with their Cannon, which played on both sides. All this while our Men were coming up in as good Order as the Inconveniency of the Ground would allow, and now Major General *Mackay*, and the rest, seeing the Enemy draw off several Bodies of Horse and Foot from the Left, and move towards their Right, where our Men pressed them very hard ; they laid hold on that advantage, and ordered the Foot to march over the Bogg, which fronted the Enemies main Battel. Colonel *Earl*, Colenel *Herbert*, Colonel *Creighton*, and Colonel *Brewers* Regiments went over at the narrowest place where the Hedges on the Enemies side run furthest into the Bogg. These four Regiments were ordered to march to the lowest of the Ditches, adjoining to the side of the Bogg, and there to post themselves till our Horse could come about by *Agbrim* Castle, and sustain them, and till the other Foot had marched over the Bogg below, where it was broader, and were sustained by Col. *Foulk's*, and Brigadeer *Steuarts*. Col. *Earl* advanced with his Regiment, and the rest after him, over the Bogg, and a Rivulet that ran through it, being most of them up to their Middles in Mudd and Water. The *Irish* at their near approach to the Ditches, fired upon them, but our Men contemning all Disadvantages, ad- July
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vanced immediately to the lowest Hedges, and beat the *Irish* from thence. The Enemy however did not retreat far, but posted themselves in the next Ditches before us : which our Men seeing, and disdaining to suffer their Lodging so near us, they would needs beat them from thence also. and so from one Hedge to another, till they were got very nigh the Enemies main Battel. But the *Irish* had so ordered the matter, as to make an easie Passage for their Horse, amongst all those Hedges and Ditches, by which means they poured in great numbers both of Horse and Foot upon us: which Colonel *Earl* seeing, encouraged his Men, by advancing before them, and saying, *There was no way to come off but to be Brave.* As great an Example of true Courage and Generosity as any Man this Day living. But being both flanked and fronted, as also exposed to all the Enemies Shot from the adjacent Ditches; our Men were forced to quit their Ground, and betake themselves to the Bogg again, whither they were followed or rather drove down by main strength of Horse and Foot, and a great many killed. Colonel *Earl*, and Colonel *Herbert*, were here taken Prisoners; the former, after twice taking and retaking, got free at last, tho not without being wounded.

Whilst this was a doing here, Col. *St. Johns*, Col. *Tiffin* Lord *George Hambleton*, the *French*, and several other Regiments, were marching over below upon the same Bogg. The *Irish*, in the mean time, laid so close in their Ditches, that several were doubtful whether they had any Men at that place or not: but they were convinced of it at last; for no sooner were the *French*, and the rest, got within twenty yards, or less, of the Ditches, but the *Irish* fired most furiously upon them; which our Men as bravely sustained, and pressed forwards, tho they could scarce see one another for Smoak.

A Party of
our Foot beat
back.

And

And now the thing seemed so doubtful for some time, that the By-standers would rather have given it on the *Irish* side; for they had driven our Foot in the Centre so far back, that they were got almost in a Line, with some of our Great Guns, planted near the Bogg, which we had not the Benefit of at that Juncture, because of the mixture of our Men and theirs.

M. G. *Ruvigny's French Horse*, and Sir *John Laniers*, being both posted on the Right, were afterwards part of them drawn to the Left, where they did very good Service. And the Right Wing of our Horse, in the mean time were making what haste they could to succour our Foot; for seeing their Danger, and indeed that all was in hazard by reason of the Difficulty of the Pass, they did more than Men, in pressing and tumbling over a very dangerous place, and that amongst Showrs of Bullets, from a Regiment of Dragoons, and two Regiments of Foot, posted conveniently under Cover, by the Enemy, to obstruct our Passage. Our Horse, at this place, were sustained by Major General *Kirks*, and Colonel *Gustavus Hambleton's Foot*, who, after we had received the Enemies Fire, for a considerable time, marched under the Walls of the Castle, and Lodged themselves in a dry Ditch, in the throng of the Enemies Shot from the Castle, and some other old Walls, and Hedges, adjoining. Those that have seen the place, and considered the Disadvantages that our Men had at such a Juncture to encounter withal, must needs Acknowledge the Action very Brave. For its reported, that Monsieur *St. Ruth*, seeing our Horse draw that way, and then begin to scramble over at a place where only two a Breast could pass, and that too with great difficulty; after all which, they had no other way to march, but to go within thirty yards of the Castle. The *French*

Our Horse pass
the Bogg, near
the Castle of
Aghrim.

July 1691. General seeing our Men attempt to do this, askt *What they meant by it?* And being answered, That they would certainly endeavour to pass there; and Attack him on the Left; he is said to reply with an Oath, *They are brave Fellows, its a pity they should be so exposed,* or Words to that purpose.

Our Horse, with much difficulty, made good that Pass; Sir *Francis Compton*, with my *Lord of Oxford's* Regiment, being one of the first that could be in a posture to Engage, he fell at Random in amongst the Enemy, and charged them briskly, with Sword in Hand: and tho his Men were once or twice Repulsed, yet being seconded with part of Major General *Ruvigny's* Horse, Colonel *Langston's*, and some of Colonel *Byerley's* Horse; as also Brigadeer *Leveson's* Dragoons, they soon made Good their Party on that side, tho' not without the loss of several both Men and Horses.

Major General
Talmash Suc-
cours our
Foot.

Then Major General *Talmash*, seeing the Disadvantage our Foot laboured under in the Centre, he shewed at once an extream concern for his Countrymens being repulsed, and as much Generosity and Courage, by hastning to Succour those that at that time stood most in need of it; coming up therefore in all haste, with some fresh Men, he gave Orders for our broken Regiments to halt, and face about, which they did immediately, and returned the same Measure to the *Irish*, that some of themselves had met withal, the very Minute before, that is, they knockt them on the Head; for the *Irish* followed us toward the Centre of the Bogg, which tho' not two hundred yards from the lowest Ditches, yet before the Enemy could recover those again, our Men had killed above three hundred of them, and then marched boldly up to their old Ground again, from whence they had been lately beat: which

is only natural to *English* Men ; for it's observable, that they are commonly fiercer, and bolder, after being repulsed than before ; and what blunts the Courage of all other Nations, commonly whets theirs, I mean the killing of their Fellow Soldiers before their Faces.

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At the same time, Major General *Mackay* had fallen upon the Enemy with a good Body of Horse on their Left, and then Major General *Ruvigny* went along the side of the Bogg, with another Party of Horse, who did extraordinary Service, bearing down all before them : then the Horse and Foot of our Right, and their Left mixing, there was nothing but a continued fire, and a very hot dispute all along the Line. The *Irish* indeavouring to defend their Ditches, and our men as forward to beat them from thence. But the thing was doubtful not much longer, for Mons. St. *Ruth*, when he first saw our Foot in the Centre repulsed, in a great Ecstasy, told those next him, *that he wou'd now beat our Army back to the Gates of Dublin*. But seeing our Horse press over towards the Castle, he ordered a Brigade of his own Horse to march up ; then Riding to one of his Batteries, and giving orders to the Gunner where to fire, he was marching towards the place where he saw us indeavour to come over, but was killed with a great Shot from one of our Batteries, as he rid down the Hill of *Killkomodon*, the place where the main stress of the Battle was fought, being just under the Enemies Camp. When Monsieur St. *Ruth* fell, one of his Retinue threw a Cloak upon his Corps, and soon after removed him beyond the Hill, his Guard going off at the same time, which the *Irish* Horse perceiving, a great many of them drew off also.

Monsieur St.
Ruth killed.

I never could learn what became of his Corps, some say that he was left stript amongst the other dead, when our

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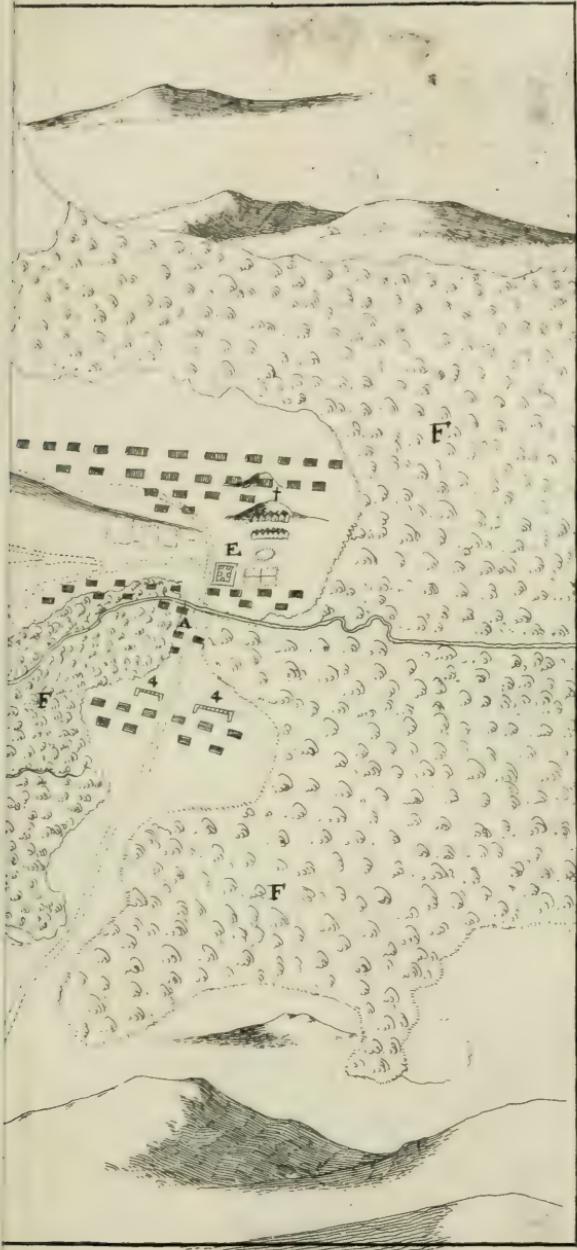
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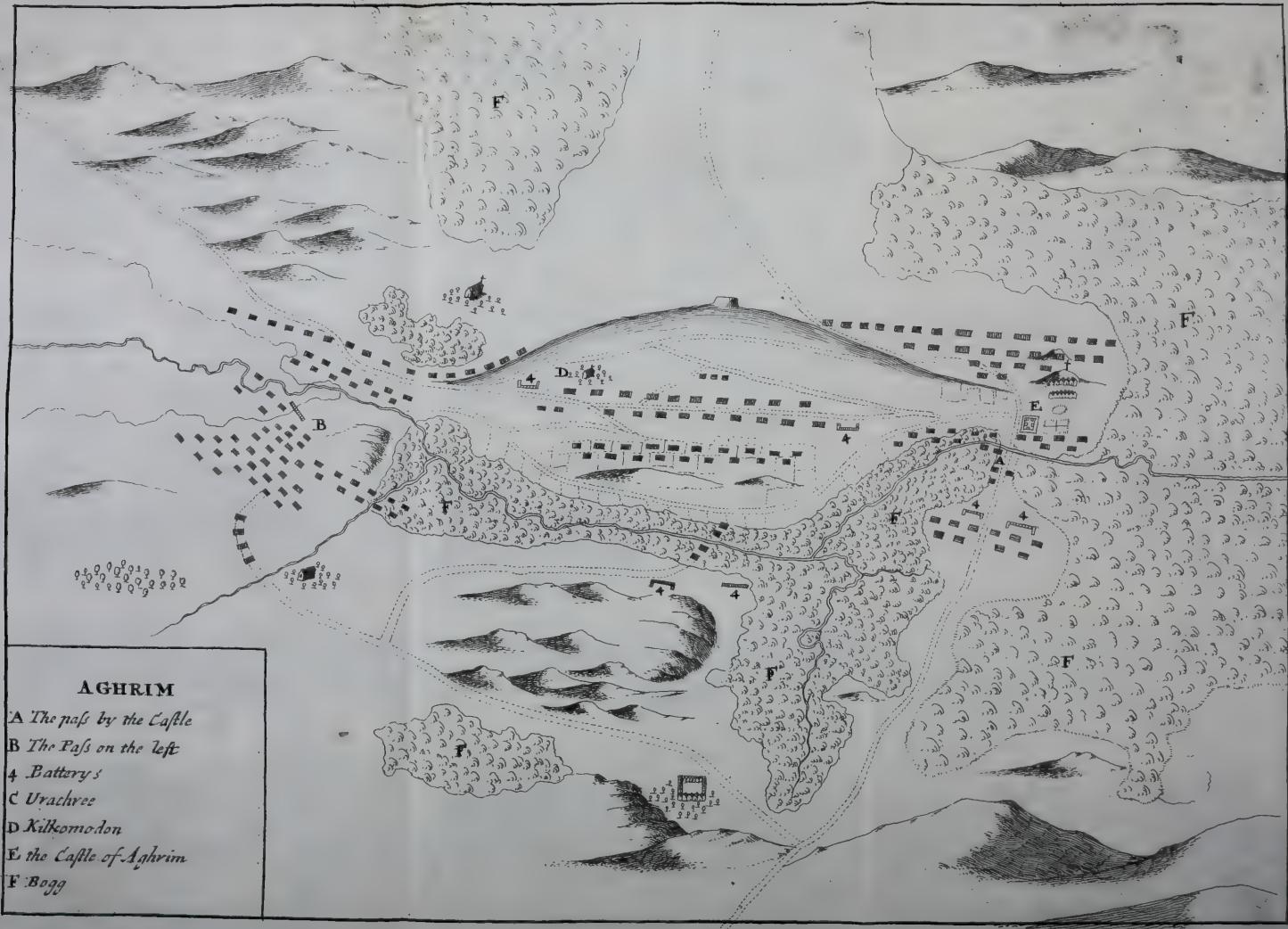
our men pursued beyond the Hill ; and others that he was thrown into a Bogg : However tho' the man had an ill Character in being one of the greatest Persecutors of the Protestants in France, yet, we must allow him to be very brave in his Person, and indeed considerable in his Conduct, since he brought the *Irish* to fight a better Battle, than ever their Nation could boast of before. And this was the reason, as the *Irish* report, that the General being killed, tho' it was not presently known, yet their Army was soon in Confusion for want of Orders, and so the Horse forced to draw off. But the truth of it was, the *Irish* before they began to shrink, had behaved themselves beyond all expectation, and had fought longer than ordinary ; yet when they saw our Horse come over so dangerous a Pass, and our Foot in the Centre Rally, and resolve to dye every man rather than be beat back again ; the *Irish* then thought they must be beat if the other would not : so that notwithstanding all their advantages of Hedges and Ground, Sun and Wind, they were forced to quit one advantagious Post, and after that another, till being beat from Ditch to Ditch, they were driven up to the Top of the Hill of *Killkomodon*, where their Camp had laid, which being levelled, and they exposed to our Shot more openly, they began now to run down right ; the Foot towards a great Bogg behind them on their Left, and the Horse on the Highway towards *Longbreagh*.

The *Irish* Army Routed.

During all this stir, and noise, on the Right and Centre of the Army, those towards our Left, that first Engaged, kept their Ground, and not much Action happened there for near two Hours past ; nor did the *Danish* Horse and Foot that were on the Left of all, disturb the Enemy as yet, but stood opposite to several Bodies of Horse and Foot, that faced them on the

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the other side the small Brook : But then perceiving Mackay's Battallions to drive the Enemy before them, I left those Bodies that faced them should have fallen back to the Relief of their flying Party, they then engaged them, and for about half an hour there was pretty hot work. But the Enemy being then in a declining Condition, and pressed hard on all sides, they fled all out of the Field ; their Foot were miserably slaughtered by our Horse and Dragoons, as they made towards the Bogg, and their Horse were pursued nigh three Miles : but the Night coming on, with a thick Misty Rain, prevented us from getting between them and a very Advantageous Pass, nigh *Loughreagh*; so that most of them escaped ; the Night, also and the Bogg, saved the Lives of many Thousands of their Foot ; for our Forreigners, and especially the *Danish* Horse, are excellent Pursuers.

The *Irish* upon their advantage in the Centre of the Battle, had taken some Prisoners (as has been said) but not being able to carry them off, they killed Col. *Herbert* and one or two more ; which several have lookt upon as a piece of cruelty : and yet it's no more than what has been often practised in such Cases, and that to a greater degree ; for at the Battle of *Agincourt*, Fought between *Hen. 5th. of England*, and *Charles the 6th. of France* upon the 24th. of *Octob. 1414.* the number of the Prisoners taken by the *English*, being very great, and King *Henry* after the Battle, perceiving fresh Troops of the King of *Sicil's* to appear in the Field, and these strong enough without any new rallyed Forces to Encounter his wearied Soldiers ; that he might not therefore have both Prisoners to Guard, and an Enemy to fight at once, he commanded every man to kill his Prisoner, contrary to his Generous Nature ; which was

July 1. was immediately done, some principal men excepted: and then upon his Message to the Enemy either to Fight or immediately to quit the Field, they chose the latter: And some say that My Lord *Galway* had hard measure from some of our Foreign Toopers, who kill'd him after he had surrendered himself a Prisoner; not to themselves, but to some others.

The place where this Battle was fought, will make a noise in History for the future, tho there's nothing worth taking notice of near it: For that which they call the Castle of *Aghrim* is only an old ruinous Building, with some Walls and Ditches about it, and never has been a place of any Strength, only as it's seated upon a Pass. There are about half a score little Cabbins on the other side a small Brook, with the Ruins of a little Church, and a Priory Dedicated to St. *Catherine*, and founded by the *Butlers*; the whole being at this day the Estate of the D. of *Ormond*.

Aghrim Castle taken. After things went clear on our side, this old Castle was taken, and a great many put the Sword in it. Col. *Burk* the Commander, his Major, Eleven Officers more, and Forty Soldiers were made Prisoners.

In this Battle, we took from the Enemy nine pieces of Brads Cannon, which they had planted at several places to their greatest advantage; all their Ammunition, Tents and Baggage, with most of their small Arms, which they threw away, to run the faster; we took also Eleven Standards, and thirty two pair of Colours: The General rewarding every one that brought any in the next day, and sent them afterwards by my Lord *O Bryan*, as a present to Her Majesty. We killed seven Thousand of the *Irish* upon the Spot, as was generally believed, and there could

not be many fewer, for looking amongst the Dead three days after, when all our own and some of theirs were buried, I reckoned in some small Inclosures 150 in others 120, &c. lying most of them by the Ditches where they were Shot; and the rest from the top of the Hill where their Camp had been, looked like a great Flock of Sheep, shattered up and down the Countrey, for almost four Miles round: And the *Irish* themselves, tho' they will not allow so many to be killed, yet they own, that they lost more, which they could never have any account of, except they stole home privately, or else turned Rapparees. We took also above four hundred and fifty Prisoners, of the chief of whom, and those killed, there was shortly after a List, in Print, which time has informed me of some mistakes in, tho' possibly there may be some as yet remaining.

The General and Field Officers taken Prisoners,
26. (viz.)

Lord Duleek.	Lieut. Col. Baggot.
Lord Slane.	Lieut. Col. John Border.
Lord Buffin.	Lieut. Col. Mack Gennis.
Sir Nicholas Brown, alias Lord Killmare.	Lieut. Col. Roffiter.
Major General Dorrington.	Lieut. Col. Mack Guire.
Major Gen. John Hambleton.	Major Patrick Lawless.
Brigadier Tuite.	Major Kelly.
Col. Walter Bourk.	Major Grace.
Col. Gordon O Neal.	Major William Bourk.
Col. Butler of Kilkash.	Major Edmund Butler.
Col. O Connel.	Major Edmund Broghill.
Col. Edmund Madden.	Major John Hewson, with 30 Captains, 25 Lieutenants, 23 Ensigns, 5 Cor. 4 Quarter- masters, and an Adjutant.
Lieut. Col. John Chappel.	
Lieut. Col. John Butler.	

KILLED.

Monsieur St. Ruth General Col. James Talbot.	
of the Irish Army.	Col. Arthur.
Lord Killmallock.	Col. Mahoony.
Lord Galway.	Lieut. Col. Morgan.
Brigadeer Connel.	Major Pureel.
Brigad. W. Mansfield Barker.	Major O'Donnell.
Brigad. Hen. Mack J.O Neal.	Sir John Everard, with se-
Col. Charles More, his Lieut.	veral others, not yet
Col. and Major.	known, besides at least
Col. David Bourk.	five hundred Captains
Col. Ulick Bourk.	and Subaltern Officers.
Col. Cohanought Macguire.	

We lost Seventy Three Officers, who were killed in this Action, with an Hundred and Eleven Wounded. Six Hundred Soldiers were Killed, and Nine Hundred and Sixty Wounded, as appears by the inserted Lists of both Horse and Foot, given in two days after, by the General's Command, and sent to the King. Nor are we to imagine the Number of the Dead exceeded the Lists given in, but rather the contrary, since whatever men were wanting before, it was a good opportunity to fix them here: Greatest part of our Wounded Men recovered again, and several of them were actually upon service before the Siege of Limerick was ended. Amongst our dead were Major General Holstaple, who commanded the Earl of Portland's Horse, Col. Herbert, Col. Mongatt, Major Devonish, Major Cornwall, Major Fox, and Major Colt.

An Account of what Officers and Soldiers belonging to the Foot, were Killed and Wounded in each Regiment, at the Battle of Aghrim, July 12. 1691.

IN	Col.	L. Col.	Majors	Capt.	Lieut.	Ensign.	Soldiers	
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
Kirk's Regim.								10
Col. Gist Hami.				1	2	1	7	9
Ld. Geo. Humb.	1					1	9	45
Col. Herkett's.	1		3		1		12	45
Sir Hen. Battaf.			1		1		2	23
Col. Brewer's			1	1	1			7
Brigad. Stuart			1	1	1	1	6	45
Col. Earl.	1	1	2	1	2		7	70
Col. Tiffin.	1						19	46
Col. Creighton				2	1	1	12	14
Col. St. John.			1	2	5	4	3	54
Ed. Lisburne.		1	1		1	2	6	64
Ld. Mearh's.			1	2	1	1	7	8
Col. Foulke.		1	1	1	2	1	1	10
Lord Cutts.	1		1	1	3	4	6	9
Count Nass. 4.						1	5	12
Prince of Hess.	1	1		1	2	2	0	25
Col. Melville's.			1	1	1	1	8	4
Cambone.			1	4	1	2	0	55
Balcarrie.	1	1		9	1	6	5	54
Groben.				2	1	3	4	50
The D.nes.	1	1			1	2	6	70
Foot-in-all.	2	5	1	2	3	24	9	28
Horse in all.	1	1	1	5	5	13	4	63
Horse and Eco.	3	6	1	2	4	19	12	32
							00	906

A List of the Officers, Troopers, and Horses, Killed and Wounded at the Battel of Agbrim.

	Col.	Majors	Capt.	Lieur.	Corn.	Troopers	Horses.
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.
Oxford.	1	2	1	2	1	45	21
Vilfers.	1	1	2	1	1	26	22
Langston.						7	10
Ruvigny.	2	9	1	9	1	40	9
	4	13	13	2	11	8	62
							50
							132
Lancaster.						23	5
Yanier.						7	5
Bverly.						7	7
Woolsley.							10
						37	5
							23
							48
Happingers Eng.						12	3
La Forrest.			1			9	10
Donep.				1	1	10	2
Scetcad.						2	2
Boncur.							—
Portland. M. G. Hoyle kil.		1				21	6
							34
							16
Scotaces Brigadier.						54	23
Monopullan.							34
Ginckel.							16
Schack.			1				8
Re. desel.						1	2
Neveuheuse.				1		3	—
Rheiteten.						2	5
Dragoons						4	3
Eppinger.						2	2
Level. dn.						7	5
Cunningham.			1	1	1	41	27
Winn.							
In all	1	1	10	15	15	13	4
						120	125
							111
							221

The Line of Battel will direct you how many Regiments we had in the Fight, and considering all Circumstances, they could not make up seventeen thousand Horse and Foot. The *Irish* were nigh Twenty Thousand Foot, and Five Thousand Horse and Dragoons, as appears from the most Rational Accounts that can be gathered from the number of their Regiments, and the Confession of their own Officers; so that it may seem incredible to a great many, that in so long and sharp an Engagement, with so great odds and disadvantages, that we had not a great many more Men killed and wounded on our side. But this is not so great a wonder in this Kingdom, if we'll look back upon the several Conflicts that our Ancestors have had with that unhappy People: tho in this last War, four parts in five of these against us were degenerate *English*. Nor ever were they under so good Discipline, or yet so unanimous formerly as now, which no doubt made the Battle much sharper; tho' it may seem strange that those of the *English* in *Ireland*, that are Roman Catholicks, should out of their blind Zeal to Popery, so quite forget from whence they came, that they joyn with the meer *Irish*, against all the Ties of Nation, Blood, and indeed of Interest. But as the Nature of Man is apter to degenerate than improve; so do the *English* oftner fall in love with the Barbarous Customs of the *Irish*, than on the contrary. Hence we read of the Earl of *Desmond*'s complaining that the *English* were taking away their Estates and Countrey; and advises the *Irish* to join with him in their Defence: and yet his own Family had not been then in *Ireland*, above three Generations, and not that difference of Religion between them and the Natives as now; and it's observable that several Families removing out of *England* into *Ireland*, call themselves by the Counties in *England*, from

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from whence they came, for two or three Generations, and then forgetting those, they often turn meer *Irish*; for put a drop of Wine into a pint of Water, and it presently so far incorporates, as you can by no means discern it: so is it often with an *English* Family that has the Misfortune to be planted amongst the meer *Irish*; for it soon becomes of the same stamp with themselves. The consequence of which has been lookt upon to be so pernicious to the *English* Interest in that Country; that not only the *English* have been forbid Cohabitation with the *Irish*; but there was a time when *Thomas Lord Burrough*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, amongst other Instructions, had Charge to enquire what *English Undertakers had, contrary to their Covenants, suffered Irish Men to Inhabit their Lands.* Cox, Vol. I.

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Instances in former times wherein the *Irish* lost considerable numbers, with small loss to the *English*.

But I shall forbear this Subject for some time; and since I am run abroad, I shall give you some of many Instances, wherein the *Irish* have been formerly overthrown by the *English*, and that with very little loss to the *Britains*. To omit therefore the inequality of Numbers, at the first Conquest; and the little loss commonly on our side, in those great Victories then obtained: In the Year 1316. *William de Burgo*, and *Richard de Brimingham*, encountr'd *Falany O Connor*, King of *Conaught*, and killed the King, with 8000 of his Men, near *Athcnree*, with very little loss to themselves; and yrt the numerous Off-spring of those brave *English* Commanders, are all, or most of them, at this day reputed *Irish*, and have declared themselves for that Interest. August the 9th. 1336. The *English* gave the *Irish* another defeat in *Conaught*, with the los of one Man, killing Ten Thousand of their Enemies. And Anno 1504. the Lord Deputy *Kildare* fought with *Boank* (then turned *Irish*;) and a great many other *Irish*

Irish Lords in a strong Confederacy at Knocklow, on the 19th. of August, and killed four thousand (some say 9000.) and not one man killed or hurt on his side.

In the Year 1566. Col. Randolph Governor of Derry, sallyed thence with 300 Foot and 50 Horse upon O Neal, who then designed to Besiege the Town; In which Sally, Four Hundred of the Irish were killed, without the loss of one English man, except Col. Randolph himself. James Fitz-Maurice, and others were also Defeated in Queen Elizabeth's time, and Four Hundred of them killed, without the loss of one English man, except a Servant of one Captain Malby's.

And Sir George Bingham Routed a Party of the Irish, Commanded by the Bourks, at a place called Ardaner, being three thousand in number, of whom only Seven escaped, and yet very little loss to Sir George's side. August the 8th. 1647. Six thousand of the Irish are said to be killed at the Battle of Dungan-Hills, fought by Maj. Gen. Jones, and not above Twenty English slain.

And what wonder is it then, if the Battle of Aghrim, the Greatest and Best that ever the Irish fought, should be won with the loss of so few on our side. But such is the unhappiness of that People, that tho' they always have the worst of it : yet Campion makes this severe Remark upon them, and affirms, *That notwithstanding their Oaths and their Pledges, they are no longer true than they find themselves the Weaker.* And indeed all things considered, it can be reckoned no other than a misfortune to England, inhabving that Island so near adjoyning, whose Inhabitants have all along differed from us in Language and in Interest; and of late also in Religion too. Hence sad experience tells us, that the Blood and Treasure of England have been Exhausted

The Irish always come off the losers.

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And those also
that set them
a work.

hausted upon *Ireland*, when ever any Foreign Prince could think his Affairs secure, or advanced by a dispute in having the *Irish* Natives on his side, who have been ready always to joyn with any against *England*, whose Subjects they have over & over again acknowledged themselves, tho Heaven seems still to blast their attempts and perfidy to that degree, that what side soever they have taken as yet against the *English*, has never prospered. Which puts me in mind of a Story that I have heard relating to the former Wars, when several of the *Irish* Nobility and Gentry assembled at *Kilkenny*, were consulting what means to use for the driving out of *Oliver Cromwell*, then lately Landed with an Army from *England*; & after several proposals, all which were found difficult, My Lord *Clanmalera* a well meaning Gentleman amongst them, but who seldom used to make Speeches, he now stood up, and after a profound silence, and great expectation, he gravely advised them *by all means to joyn with Cromwell, and to espouse his Interest heartily, as the only Expedient to Ruine him*: and then to confirm his Opinion he gave them several instances of their being unfortunate to their Friends and Confederates formerly. As to this last Effort of theirs (which yet I pray God may be so) it was no less unhappy than any of the former, since before that, *Ireland* was in the fairest way imaginable of being made for ever an *English* Countrey: for the Natives were generally poor, and not able to carry on a War even against the *English* of their own Kingdom; whose Servants or Tenants commonly they were, till by an unaccountable Zeal for Popery in King *James*; a dexterous management in My Lord *Tyrconnel* to make himself Great, and so to advance the Interest of his Nation; together with a secret design of the *French* King's, for his own sake, the *Irish* were encouraged to that degree, that the Child

as

as yet unborn may curse the occasions of so much July
1691. Blood spilt, and Treasure lost, as has been expended in their suppression; and yet I see little advantage that either themselves or any of their Patrons have got by the Bargain.

I shall conclude this Digression, and the Battle of *Aghrim*, with an Account of a Prophecy, which the *Irish* had of a Battle to be fought at this place. I was told by a Gentleman, who lives now in that Neighbourhood, that at least a year before the Battle was fought, several of the *Ulster Creights*, driving their Cattle that way, some of them askt this Gentleman the name of that Castle, who when he told them that it was called *Aghrim*: one of them replied, *that was the place where a great Battle was to be fought*; and that the *English* men should think their Coats too heavy in climbing up those Hills. This was also mentioned by Col. *Gordon O'Neal* (found stript amongst the Dead next day, and made a Prisoner) and several other of the *Irish* Officers after the Battle, which kind of Predictions are never rightly understood till they are past: for the *Irish* interpreted this to signify the *English* mens running away from them, but they found it by experience, that the *English* thought their Coats too heavy in the pursuit of the Enemy: tho some say this Prophecy is meant of the Hills near *Ardee*, the day before the Battle at the *Boyn*, which was so Hot, that very few were able to carry their Coats. Nor is there any other people more Superstitious in this point than the *Irish*; and yet some of their Predictions are very remarkable, especially at *Kingsale*, when the *Spaniards* landed there, where the Lord *Montjoy*, then Lord Lieutenant, was shewed the Ground several days before, whereon the Great *O'Neal* was defeated by him. And this was done by an old Prophecy, which pun-

A Continuation of the History

1651. tually named and described the place. Towards the end also of the former Wars in *Ireland*, whilst *Iretin* lay before *Limerick*, my Lord *Broghill* was sent with a Detachment out of the Army to a place called *Knocknaclashy*, to observe a Body of the *Irish*: My Lord found several people got there before him, on purpose to expect the fate of the last Battle of *Ireland*, to be fought on that Ground, as their Prediction run; and tho the *Irish* Forces were as then not upon the Spot, yet it so fell out that the Battle was fought there; the *Irish* Routed, and this the last Field-Conflict that happened during those Wars. I have heard also some of the *Irish* tell us before we got theither that we should not succeed at the first Siege of *Limerick*: and they had no other reason for it but because one of their Prophesies said so.

Our Army lay upon their Armes all night.

But I have spent too much time in these trifles, and therefore to return: Whoever have been concerned in like Cases, may easily imagine what satisfaction it was to the General and whole Army, to find themselves entirely Masters of the Field, and their Enemies all dispersed; but the day being gone, and few of our Tents come up, the men were ordered to lye upon their Armes all Night: their dead Adversaries (who two hours before had made a considerable Bustle) lay now very quietly by without disturbance. Next day the General ordered a publick thanksgiving to be kept, through the Army, for this happy Victory, and gave command that all our own dead should be Buried, and those of the Enemy also that lay on the ground where our Tents were to be pitched. But the rest of the *Irish* remained still unburied, no Inhabitants being left in that part of the Countrey to perform it; for it has been an Ancient Custom amongst them, still to remove out of the way with their Cattle and all their Substance, at the approach of an Enemy: And

Judge

Judge Cox observes that in the Year 1178, towards the beginning of the English Government in Ireland, *Connaught* was invaded by Miles Coghan, and Young Fitz-Stephens : but they were forced to return for want of Provisions, which has since frustrated more well contrived designs, and great Expeditions, than any other Accident. But this was not our case at this time, and the greatest mischief that happened by the *Irish* removing, was to have the Carcasses of their Countrymen for want of Burial, exposed to the Birds of the Air, and the Beasts of the Field ; many Doggs frequenting the place, afterwards and growing so fierce by feeding upon mans Flesh, that it became dangerous for any single man to pass that way. And there is a true and remarkable Story of a Greyhound belonging to an *Irish* Officer : the Gentleman was killed and stript in the Battle, whose Body the Dog remained by night and day ; and tho he fed upon other Corps with the rest of the Dogs, yet he would not allow them or any thing else to touch that of his Master. When all the Corps were consumed, the other Dogs departed, but this used to go in the Night to the adjacent Villages for Food, and presently to return again to the place where his Masters Bones were only then left : and thus he continued till January following, when one of Col. Foulks's Soldiers being quartered nigh hand, and going that way by chance, the Dog fearing he came to disturb his Masters Bones, flew upon the Soldier: who being surprized at the suddenness of the thing, unslung his Piece, then upon his back, and killed the poor Dog.

Next morning after the Battle, one Fitz-Gerald and six Troopers came from the Enemy, and told us that what of the Army was left, made the best of their way towards Limerick: But that they were so

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Brigadier Eppinger sent with a Party towards Portumna.

shattered and frightened, that very few of their Foot would be got thither. The same day Brigadier *Eppinger*, with a Party of 1200. Horse and Dragoons was ordered towards *Portumna* and *Banagher*, two Passes upon the *Shanon*, where the *Irish* kept Garisons all last Winter. And on the 14th. those places were Surrendred upon Condition to march out with their Arms and Baggage: First towards our Camp, where they had liberty to lay down their Arms, if they pleased; or else to go on towards the *Irish* Army. *Loughrea*, *Melick*, and other places thereabouts were also Deserted by the *Irish*, who most of them took towards *Limerick*, as the safest place of Retreat: whither they went in no kind of order, but rather like people going to a Fair, the Roads as they passed being full of Hampers and other stuff, which they had been in too great hast to lug along; yet that very night after the Battle they Robbed and Plundred one another upon the Road. That Evening it was ordered that all the Officers that were not upon Duty, should be at the General's Quarters next Morning at 9 of the Clock, to attend the Funeral of Major Gen. *Holstaple*: and what Soldiers would bring in Muskets to the Artillery, should have 6d. a piece for them: by which means they brought in a great many Waggon loads full of the Arms lost and thrown away by the *Irish*; and tho the price was reduced to two pence afterwards, yet there still came a great many in. Our Hospital was then pitched at *Garbally*, about three Miles nearer *Athlone*: and it was likewise ordered that if there were any Sick or Wounded men that were not sent to the Hospital, they should be brought to the Artillery at Five in the Morning, where they would find Waggons to carry them to *Athlone*, Six Hundred Waggons being then ordered to bring up

up Bread and other Provisions from the Stores, which by that time were fixed there.

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The 15th. Major *O Connor*, and 60 men that had been Garrisoned at *Banoher* Bridge came to our Camp, where 40 of the men laid down their Armes, to whom the General gave 5 s. a piece for encouragement, and ever after the *Irish* deserted apace.

The 16th the Army marched to *Loughreagh*, a small Town seated in an indifferent good Countrey, but remarkable for nothing so much as for several Synods and Assemblies kept there, by the Popish Clergy, in year 1650. when the late unhappy Troubles where at the heighth. Those were the Congregational Party, who sometimes condemned the Cessation, and at other times they approved of it; But at last they Excommunicated the then Marquis of *Ormond* for acting by the Kings Commission, tho he valued themselves very little, and their Excommunication much less. And it were to be wished that other Churches too, as well as that of *Rome*, were better advised in this way of Censuring.

The Army
marcht to
Loughreagh.

This place we found Plundered by the *Irish* Army, as well their own People as the *English*; the *Irish* Soldiers giving their Countrey-men this reason for what they did, *that they had better be Plundered by their own people, than give what they had to the English Army, who would certainly strip them in a day or two more.*

The 17th. We marched to *Athenree*, within 8 Miles of *Galway*, standing in a plain dry Countrey, and encompassed with a pretty good Sone Wall; but we found not above 30 *Irish* Cabbins in all the Town, most of which were deserted too, and the Inhabitants gone with the rest of the Neighbourhood, towards the Mountains of *Slewbaughty*.

Thence to
Athenree.

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1691. There was a Religious House in the Town, built at first, by *Miles Bruningham*, in the Year 1241; and tho' it had been defaced when other Monasteries were suppressed, yet the *Irish* had pretty well repaired it again. But upon our Approach, the Monks had left their House, and greatest part of their Books. By the Ruines of two Churches, within the Walls, and another Religious Place or two without, it appears a Town of some Antiquity; and I find this to be the place where *Bruningham* defeated the *Irish*, and slew Eight Thousand of them; the Town being walled afterwards, with the Money raised of Armour, and spoil gotten from the *Irish*; for every one of the *English* that had double Armour of the *Irish*, gave one half towards the Walls of the Town; of which *Bruningham* was made Baron, and one *John Hussey*, a Butcher, did wonderful Feats that Day.

Afterwards frequent skirmishes happened hereabouts, between the *English* and *Irish*, and the Town it self was burnt in Queen *Elizabeths* time, by the *Mackan Earla's*, the Church not escaping; one of them saying, upon his being told that his Mother was buried in it, *That if she were alive, he would sooner burn her, and it together, than that any English Churke should fortifie there.* Soon after this, 2000*l.* Tax was laid by the Lord Deputy to Rebuild the Town; but as they were about it, and the Work well nigh finished, the New Gates were set on Fire again, by my Lord *Clanrickards* Sons, who passed the *Shannon*, and changed their *English*, for *Irish* Apparel, then sacking the Town, drove away the *Masons*, and defaced the Queens Arms. This place it seems has not been very considerable since, by reason of the Condition we found it in. Our Army encamped on the Plains, not far from the Town, the General going

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going with a Party, thtee Miles nearer *Galway* : from whence being upon a rising Ground, we could see into the Bay, where there lay then Six Ships ; Three of which went off that Night. It was given out in Orders, that the Men should be kept close in the Camp, and to be ready to March in a Minutes warning, without beat of Drum ; but on farther Consideration, we rested. On the 18th. the General going, with a Party, to a place called *ORanmore*, seated upon the very end of the Bay of *Galway*, which the *Irish* had burnt some days before ; His Excellency thought it not convenient to approach so nigh, as to view the Town of *Galway*, which we could not do without went within half a Mile of it, tho not one of the *Irish* appeared ; for they had only a few Scampering Dragoons in Town ; and therefore when the General had viewed the most convenient ways to March his Guns and Carriages, and sent an Aid du Camp to discover who Major General *Scravemore* was, who had gone abroad also with a Party another way ; he returned to the Camp, whither one Mr. *Shaw*, a Merchant, and some others, came some Protest- from *Galway*, and gave the General a full Account how ^{ants escape out} matters stood within ; that the Garrison were only 7 Regiments, and those neither full, nor well Armed ; that they agreed not amongst themselves about keeping or surrendring the Town, tho it was probable ^{of Galway, and inform the General of the state of that place.} they would never abide a brisk Attack ; that *D'Uffone*, the French Lieutenant General was there, and that my Lord *Dillon* was Governour, and that the *Irish* expected *Balderick O Donnel*, with his Party to come into Town, by way of *Ire, Conaught*, without whom they were not in a Condition to make Resistance. The heat of Expectation, from this *Irish* Deliverer, was now pretty well cooled ; and at the Battle of *Aghrim*, he was at one Mr. *Miller's*, at *Bally-Cushean*, about Six Miles.

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Miles from *Tuam*, having a Party of about one Thousand Men at *Hedford*, *Ballinrobe*, and up and down the Country, who upon the News of the Battle, were for marching in all haste towards the Mountains: but not seeing our Army approach so soon as they expected them, *Balderock*, at the Instigation of one *Linch*, a Popish-Priest, and one who called himself Dean of *Tuam*, sent back a Party to that Town, who alledging that the People were making great Preparations to receive the *English* Army; they stript the Inhabitants, and burnt the Place, at such a time, when the People not only expected to get in their Harvest, but also hoped for the Protection of the *English* Army; but found the contrary, as well to their disappointment as loss. This Town is dignified with an Archiepiscopal Seat, and is that where the first Castle that ever was in *Ireland*, as to any pile of Lime and Stone, was built in the Year 1161. by *Rotherick O Connor*, the Monarch; and for the rarity called *Castrum Mirificum*. The Inhabitants here inform us that the Town was burnt in the former Wars, by *O Donneil's* Grandfather, who turning about from a rising Ground, and beholding the Flames, he fell down dead from his Horse, without ever speaking another word. With the Pillage of this Town, and some other Places of the Country about, *Balderock*, and his Party, marched to a Place called *Cong*, amongst the Mountains, in the County of *Mayo*; his Men were then dwindled away, and not above Six Hundred in Number. So that he was so far from being serviceable to *Galway*, that his Design was to keep amongst the Mountains, till he could make Terms for himself, upon which account he writ to the General, before our Army removed from *Galway*.

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Nigh the same time Judge *Daily* who lived in that part of the Country had sent to the General, desiring that a Party might be sent for him, who should seemingly force him from his Habitation ; this Gentleman and some others of the *Irish* had kept a Correspondence with our Government for several Months past, and had proposed the surrendring of *Galloway*, and some other things, which was the occasion of a part of our Armies marching to the *Shannon* the Winter before, but whether they were real and sincere in what they proposed, or they did it only to gain time, and by that means to benefit their own Party, may well be questioned, since those very men continue still the greatest Patrons of the *Irish*, and what they told the General at that time was at best a Mistake, for they informed him that the Garrison of *Galloway* was five thousand men at least, and those well armed, that the Stores were considerable, and the Town almost impregnable, that *Sarcefield* with the whole Body of the *Irish* Horse was upon his march with a Resolution to raise the Siege, and that *Balderock's* Party was above six thousand strong ; But tho' the General had no great reason to believe all this, yet he thought it convenient to suppose the worst, and therefore was doubtful whether to besiege the Town, or to stay for the heavy Cannon which were at *Athlone* : yet upon the repeated Assurances of several Protestants that those were only Tricks to gain time, he resolved to approach the Town of *Galloway* the day following. Orders were therefore given out that the Army should march in two Columns, with an hundred men of each Wing for a Rear Guard, Commanded by a Lieutenant Collonel of the Right-Wing : A Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign with fifty Fire-Locks were to march at the Head of each Regiment.

The nineteenth we marched from *Athenree*, the General leaving three thousand Horse and Dragoons there

The Army
march to Gal-
loway.

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under the Command of Lieutenant Gen. *Scravemore* and Major Gen. *Ruyvigny* as well for the Conveniency of Forrage, (the Ground nigh *Galloway* being very Barren and Rocky) as to observe the Enemies Motion by securing the Passes, and by that means our great Guns that were designed to come from *Athkone*, if the Town did not submit without putting us to the Trouble. The Town of *Galloway* is no doubt one of the Ancientst and Greatest in *Ireland*, and yet I do not find many remarkable things of it formerly, it being always rather a place of Trade than Action of another Nature: It was first governed by a Provost, then Sovereign and Bayliffs, then a Mayor and Bayliffs, now by a Mayor and Sheriffs, It was most of it burnt in the year 1500, but soon rebuilt by reason of the Richness of the Inhabitants: the Houses within the Walls are generally very strong, and the Streets narrow; it was blockt up by Sir *Charles Coot*, and Major General *Ludlow* in the year 1652, and surrendered to Sir *Charles* on the 12th of May following, the loss of which carried with it at that time the Fate of *Ireland*. There lived a great many rich Merchants in it of late by reason of the conveniency of its Situation for Trade with *Spain* or *France*, but most of them are *Irish*, which might be one great reason to expect the having it delivered upon reasonable Terms, rather than by resistance to have it ruined. The Town is Seated at the Foot of a narrow ridge of Land, having *Galloway-Bay* on the South and South-East, a large River coming from *Lough Cerbe* on the West, and towards the North there lies a low Bog, through the midst of which runs a narrow but deep River proceeding from the Great one that slides by the Town: this River and Bog each about a Mile and an half towards the North-East, and then end together, the River sinking under ground at the Foot of a large Hill; but appears again at an Old Castle nigh *Oken*

The Town
described.

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Oran-More, where it runs into the utmost Creek of the Bay. The Ridge of Land between the Bog and the Bay towards the East is but very narrow, and may with no great difficulty be Fortified, without which, the Town is not to be defended, since an Army may approach under covert of this Ridge within less than an hundred Yards of the Town-wall, where there is a rising Ground that overlooks a great part of the Town. There had been some works upon the neck of this Ridge in former times, and the French had begun to repair them, but had not brought them to any perfection; the Irish however were hard at work upon a Fort at the end of this Ridge, and nigh the *South-East* Corner of the Wall, they had levelled all the Hedges nigh the Town, as also the Suburbs towards the *East*-Gate, and several very strong Works were cast up to defend that part of the Town: within the Wall on that side there stands a round Citadel with eight Guns, having a Platform nigh it of six Guns more, at the *South-East* corner of the Wall were eight or ten Guns planted; there stands also a Turret towards the middle of a large Curtain that runs along next the Bay, on which were three Guns, and towards the River they had planted five more, which with those that lookt towards the *West* and *North*, made in all about forty six Guns, most of which were amounted upon little mean Carriages, something like those they commonly have on Ship-board. We had no opposition at all in approaching the Town, but the Irish that they might do something, burnt my Lord *Buffin's* House seated by the River nigh a Mile from the Town, some of them staying in the Orchards till they were beat from thence by a Party of our Horse; they burnt also their Suburbs towards the *North-West* Gate, and made a shew as if they were preparing for a vigorous resistance. As soon as a part of our Army was drawn as near as the General thought convenient, he sent a Trumpet to the

The Town
Summoned.

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Town, profering them the Benefit of the Lords Justices late Declaration if they would surrender without any further trouble, whilst the Trumpeter was in Town, the Irish fired three or four great Guns, which is not usual in such Cases ; but they pretended afterwards that it was done by some Gunners that knew not of the Trumpets being there ; the Answer however sent by my Lord Dillon, who was Governor, was to this effect, *That Monsieur de Ussene, who Commanded in Chief was of the same opinion with himself and the rest of the Officers, and that they were resolved to defend the place to the last.* That Afternoon was spent in the posting of our Army. The Irish in the mean time firing their great Guns from the Town, tho' with little loss to us, because of the conveniency of Ground we had to Encamp on. There were only three Ships left now in the Bay, who anchoring nigh the Town, they made off from the Shoar as the Army marched in. And there was a Proposol offered to make all our Tin-Boats into four Floats, and put two small Field-pieces upon each, with which we were to attempt the seizing the Ships in the Bay, for it was supposed that if the Ships had Guns, yet our Floats would be so flat as to lie under them, and so we might with no great danger either board or sink the Vessels, but after having made the Floats and mounted some of our Guns upon them, the design was found impracticable for several Reasons, and we had an opportunity of lamenting our misfortune, in not having at that time so much as one English Frigat near us. The Boats therefore were to be employed otherways, for as soon as it was grown dark Lieutenant General Mackay, with Colonel Tiffins, Colonel St. Johns, Monsieur Cambons, Lord George Hambleton, one Dutch, and a Danish Regiment of Foot, with four Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons were wafted over the River, about two Miles above the Town : by break

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1691.

break of day our men were all safe on the other side, meeting with no opposition, only a small Party of Dragoons fir'd at the first Party that landed, and then scoured off; whether the *Irish* really expected *Baldrock O Donnell* to come into Town that way is uncertain, however we had now destroyed all hopes of it, and he retired again into the County of *Mayo*, from whence he w^t to the General as has been said. On Sunday in the Evening, not many hours after we appear'd before the Town, one Captain *Bourk* deserted from the Enemy, and gave the General an account, that the Fort the *Irish* were making towards the *South-East* was almost finished, and therefore the sooner it was attacked, it would be the easier gained, and that it was as necessary for us to take as them to keep it, because it commanded a great part of the Wall on that side the Town. Next Morning early A Fort taken. Count *Nassau* with a Party of Granadeers and two Regiments of Foot was conducted by Captain *Bourk* the safest way to attack this Fort: (Major General *Talmash* would needs go a Volunteer as he usually did (when it was not his turn to command) we manngaged it so well that our Granadeers were got almost to the Foot of the Enemies works before they discovered us, upon which the *Irish* made some faint firings, but our men then rushed forwards, and threw in their Granado's, which soon forced the Enemy to retire by a Line of Communication that was drawn from the Fort to the Town: we lost in this Action only a Lieutenant and five Men, having two Lieutenants and eight men more wounded, and after the Fort was in our possestion the *Irish* fired both small and great shot upon us from their Walls, by which they wounded several, and killed one Mounseur *Madrone*, an Ingineer, as he was giving Orders to the Workmen.

That morning five Troopers desert from *Baldrock's* Party

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1691.

Party giving some account of his present circumstances, tho when the Irish within saw a part of our Army beyond the River, they still made shew of resisting, and burnt all the Suburbs on that side the Town, which were very large, and the Irish the readier to destroy them, because most of the Houses thereabouts had formerly belonged to the English. About ten a Clock, and whilst their Suburbs were yet in a flame the Irish beat a Parley, the Governour sending a Drummer with a Letter to the General to desire a safe Condu&t for some Persons to come out in order to a Capitulation: To which the General returned a satisfactory Answer, and presently a Cessation was commanded between the Camp and Garrison, those in Town crowding in great numbers upon the Walls, and our Souldiers going to the out side of the Irish Works, enquiring each for their Friends and Acquaintance in one anothers Army.

Hostages exchanged.

In the afternoon Hostages were exchanged in order to a Treaty. Those on our side were Lieutenant Colonel *Purcel*, Lieutenant Colonel *Coot*, and the Marquess de *Rhada*, Lieutecant Colonel *to my Lord Cutts*. The Enemies Hostages were Lieutenant Colonel *Linch*, Lieutenant Colonel *Burk*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Reyley*. The Articles were not agreed upon that day, and the Irish prevailed with the General to continue the Cessation till *Tuesday* at ten a Clock; which time being come, the General ordered eight Guns and four Mortars to be drawn down to that Fort we took the day before, and there to be planted, then sent a Drum to command away his Hostages; but the Irish had some debates amongst themselves, not that they pretended to hold out the Town, but about the method of Surrender, and the Substance of their Articles. Their delays however made the General impatient

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patient, and he sent once or twice to hasten their Resolutions: At last Lieutenant Colonel Burk one of their Hostages was permitted to go in, Major General Talmash, as was believed, being inclined to lay the Treaty aside, desired him, *When they were ready to begin a-fresh, to give us a sign to secure our selves, by firing a Gun into the Air*: The other replied, *That they would not fire from within till we provok'd them to it from without*: But after some further time it was agreed to, that next Sunday morning, the Town should be delivered up upon the following Articles.

The Articles of Galloway, as they were confirmed afterwards by their Majesties.

Guilielmus & Maria Dei gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex & Regina Fidei Defensores, &c. Omnibus ad quos præsentes Literæ Nostræ perveniunt salutem: Inspeximus Irrotulamentum quadrundum literarum patentium de confirmatione gerenda, & apud Westmonasterium decimo Septimo die Februarii ultimo præterito in Curia Cancelaria Nostra Irrotulata ac ibidem Recordo Remanente in hæc verba.

William and Mary by the Grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting: Whereas certain Articles bearing date the one and twentieth day of July last past, were made and agreed upon, by our Trusty and well belvoed, Rebort Bas-
ron

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ron de Ginckel Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of Our Forces in Our Kingdom of Ireland, and the Constable and Governour of Our Town of Galway in Our said Kingdom; Whereby Our said General promises, that We should ratifie these Capitulations within the space of three months from the date thereof, or sooner. The Tenor of which said Articles is as followeth, *Viz.*

Articles of
Galloway.

*Articles granted to the Town and Garrison
of Galloway by Lieutenant General
Ginckell, Commander in Chief of Their
Majesties Forces the 21st. of July, 1691.*

I. That the Town and Fort of Galloway shall be given up to his Excellency or such Officer as he shall appoint, on *Sunday* Morning next by six of the Clock; together with all the Stores of Ammunition, and Provision, and Magazines of all sorts without Embezzlement, and that immediately upon the signing these Articles, such Persons as the General shall appoint have leave to inspect them.

II. That all Deserters that are in the Town shall be given up.

III. That immediately after the signing these Articles, all the Outworks of the Town shall be delivered to such Officers as the General shall appoint to take Possession of the same, and that the General shall withdraw all the Cannon from the Wall.

IV: That

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IV. That till the Town is surrendred as aforesaid, the General may order such Works and Batteries to be made as he shall judge convenient, provided he doth not bring them within three yards of the Wall, nor the Guns within ten yards of the Batteries; and that in the Town they shall not proceed to work to fortifie the same any further.

V. In Consideration of the said Rendition his Excellency gives leave to Lieutenant General *d'Uffone*, Monsieur *Metlet* Commissary of War, and the rest of the French Officers and Souldiers, and others of that Nation now in *Gallway*, to go to *Limerick* with their Arms, Bag, and Bagage, whether they shall be safely conducted the nearest way, and in case that the said Lieutenant General *d'Uffone* shall want Horses to carry his Equipage thither, the General will furnish him with them.

VI. That such of the Garison as desire it may remain in Town, or go to their respective homes and enjoy the benefit of this Capitulation, and the rest shall march to *Limerick* with their Arms, six pieces of Cannon, Drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted, Bullet in mouth, and as much Ammunition and Provisions as each Officer and Souldier can carry with him, and that they shall be furnished with Draught-Horses, and Harnesses for their Guns if they want them, which said Guns they shall have liberty to choose, provided they take none above twelve Pounders.

VII. That the wounded and sick Officers may stay in Town till they are cured, and that then they shall be sent to *Limerick* with a safe Conduit, and in the mean time shall be provided in Town with necessaries for their Cure and Subsistence.

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VIII. That the Governor, Constable, Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Burgesses, Freemen and Natives of *Gallway*, and the Inhabitants thereof, or the reputed ones by any former Charter of King *James* the II. granted before his *Abdication*, or any of his Ancestors, shall have a general Pardon of all Attainders, Outlawries, Treasons, Fellonies, Premunires, and all manner of Offences committed since the beginning of the said King *James*'s Reign, to the date hereof.

IX. That all and every of the Garrison, Officers, Governor, Constable, Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Burgesses, Freemen, and Inhabitants aforesaid, shall enjoy and possess their Estates real and personal, and all other Liberties and Immunities as they held or ought to have held under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, or otherwise by the Laws of this Kingdom, freely discharged from all Crown-rents, quit-rents, and all other Charges to the date hereof.

X. That the Names of the Roman Catholick Clergy of the Town of *Gallway* be given to the General, on or before *Tuesday* next, and that they as well as the Laity of the said Town, shall have the private Exercise of their Religion without being prosecuted on any Penal Laws for the same, and that the said Clergy shall be protected in their Persons and Goods.

XI. That the Gentlemen of Estates now belonging to the Town and Garrison of *Gallway* shall have liberty to keep a Gun in their Houses for the defence of the same, and wear a Sword and Case of Pistols if they think fit.

XII. That

XII. That all the Roman Catholick Lawyers of the said Town shall have the free liberty of Practice that they had in King *Charles* the Second's time.

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XIII. That such of the Officers belonging to any of the Regiments that are now in *Gallway*, and not present at the signing of these Capitulations shall have the benefit of the same, provided they shall submit within three Weeks to the Governor of *Gallway* for the time being, who shall be appointed by the General, or that they shall have a safe Conduct to go to *Limerick* in the same manner as the said Garrison has.

XIV. That such other Persons now in Town as desire to go out with the Garrison, or such part thereof as goes to *Limerick* shall have liberty to do so, and carry their Families and Goods along with them, and that such Officers Wives belonging to the said Garrison as are there or in any other part of *Connaught*, may at the same time depart with their Goods, or at any other convenient time afterwards, particularly Colonel *Edmund Reily*'s Wife, Mother and Family, the Lady *Fraugh* and her Daughter, and Lieutenant Colonel *Luke Reily*, his Brother *Philip Reily*, their Wives and Families.

XV. That immediately all Acts of Hospitality shall cease on both sides, and that if it shall happen that any provoking Language shall pass between the Souldiers, they shall be punished by their respective Officers for the same, and not permitted to fire on one another.

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XVI. That for the due performance of these Articles, the Governor shall immediately give the Persons undernamed for Hostages,

Earl of *Clanrickard.*Major *Dillon.*Colonel *Dominick Brown.*Lieutenant Col. *Bodkin.*Lord of *Iniskillin.*

Lastly, The General promises to have these Capitulations ratified by Their Majesties within the space of three Months from the date hereof, or sooner if possible.

Signed and Sealed the day above-mention'd by the Commander in Chief of Their Majesties Forces, and the Constable and Governor of the said Town interchangably.

*Dillon.**Clanrickard.**Iniskillin.*

Signed and Sealed in the presence of

*Dominick Brown.**Oliver O Gara.**John Bodkin.**William Bourke.**Thomas Dillon.**Anthony O Dogherty.**James Skelton.**Robert Linch.**James O Brian.**Bryan O Neile.**Hugh Dogherty.**Hugh O Neile.**John Stephenson**John Dogherty.*

And

‘And whereas the said Town of Gallray hath been
 ‘since in pursuance of the said Articles surrendered to
 ‘us: Know ye that we having considered of the said
 ‘Articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare that
 ‘we do as far as in us lies ratifie and confirm the same,
 ‘and every Clause, Matter, and Thirg therein contained.
 ‘And as to such part thereof, for which An Act of Par-
 ‘liament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recom-
 ‘mend the same to be made good by Parliament. And
 ‘shall give our Royal Assent to any Bill or Bills that
 ‘shall be passed by our two Houses of Parliament for
 ‘that purpose.

‘Provided always and our Will and Pleasure is, that
 ‘theſe our Letters Patents shall be enrolled in our Court
 ‘of Chancery in our said Kingdom of Ireland within one
 ‘year next ensuing. In witness, &c. Witness our ſelf at
 ‘Westminster the Seventeenth Day of February.

Anno Regni Regis & Regina Guillielmi &
 Mariæ quarto per bene de privato Sigillo. Nos
 autem tenorem præmissorum prædict. ac requi-
 ſitionem Attornati Generalis Domini Regis &
 Dominæ Reginæ pro Regno Hybernæ duximus
 exemplicandum per præſentes. In Cujus rei Te-
 ſtimonium has litteras noſteas fieri facimus
 patentes Testibus nobis ipſis apud Westmona-
 sterium quinto die Aprilis Anno Regni eorum
 quarto.

Bridges.

Examinat. per nos

S. Keck
 Lacon W. Child } In Cancell. Magistros.

This

July,
 1691.

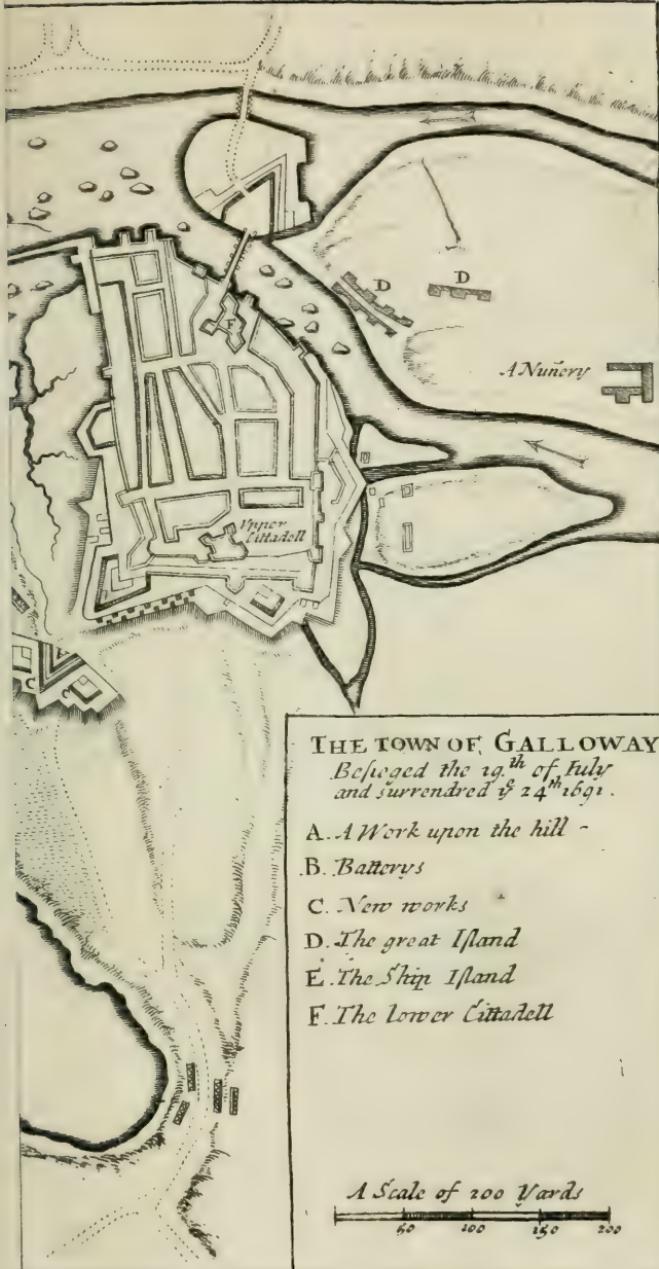
July,
1691.

This Town with a good Garrison in it might have given us more trouble, and so have postponed the Siege of Limerick: yet considering their present Circumstances, they did not manage ill in procuring for themselves those Terms which they had, tho' the General might safely condescend to grant any thing included in the Lords Justices Declaration, which both the Articles of *Gallway* and *Limerick* are. At the same time that *Gallway* was Capitulating, there came a *Drum* from *Limerick*, which put us in hopes that all was over, and that they had a mind to make Terms not only for *Gallway* but for the Irish Nation in general, but it was only about the exchange or releasing of some Prisoners, which at that time could not be granted, or rather it was to understand what became of *Gallway* that so the others might take their measures accordingly,

As soon as the Articles were signed, *William Robinson* Esq; Deputy Pay-master to the Army was sent into Town to take an Account of the Stores, and *Tuesday* in the Afternoon we took possession of all their Out-works, the Enemy dismounting all their Cannon also, and thus we continued a Friendly Correspondence till *Sunday* the 26th. when about seven aClock in the Morning *Monsieur d'Ussore* the French Lieutenant General came to our Camp and stay'd about half an hour from whence he had a Guard for his Person to Conduct him towards *Limerick*: *Sir Henry Bellasis* being appointed Governor, he marched to the Town with his own, *Colonel Brewers* and *Colonel Herberts* Regiments, and about nine aClock he took Possession of all the Guards. The Irish before they marched out were dividing some Gunpowder in the Street, which accidentally taking fire, some had their eyes blown out, others had their Hair and Cloaths burnt off, above twenty of them being disfigured by it; the suddenness of this Accident, bred some confusion

The Stores
viewed.The Town
surrendred.

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1691.

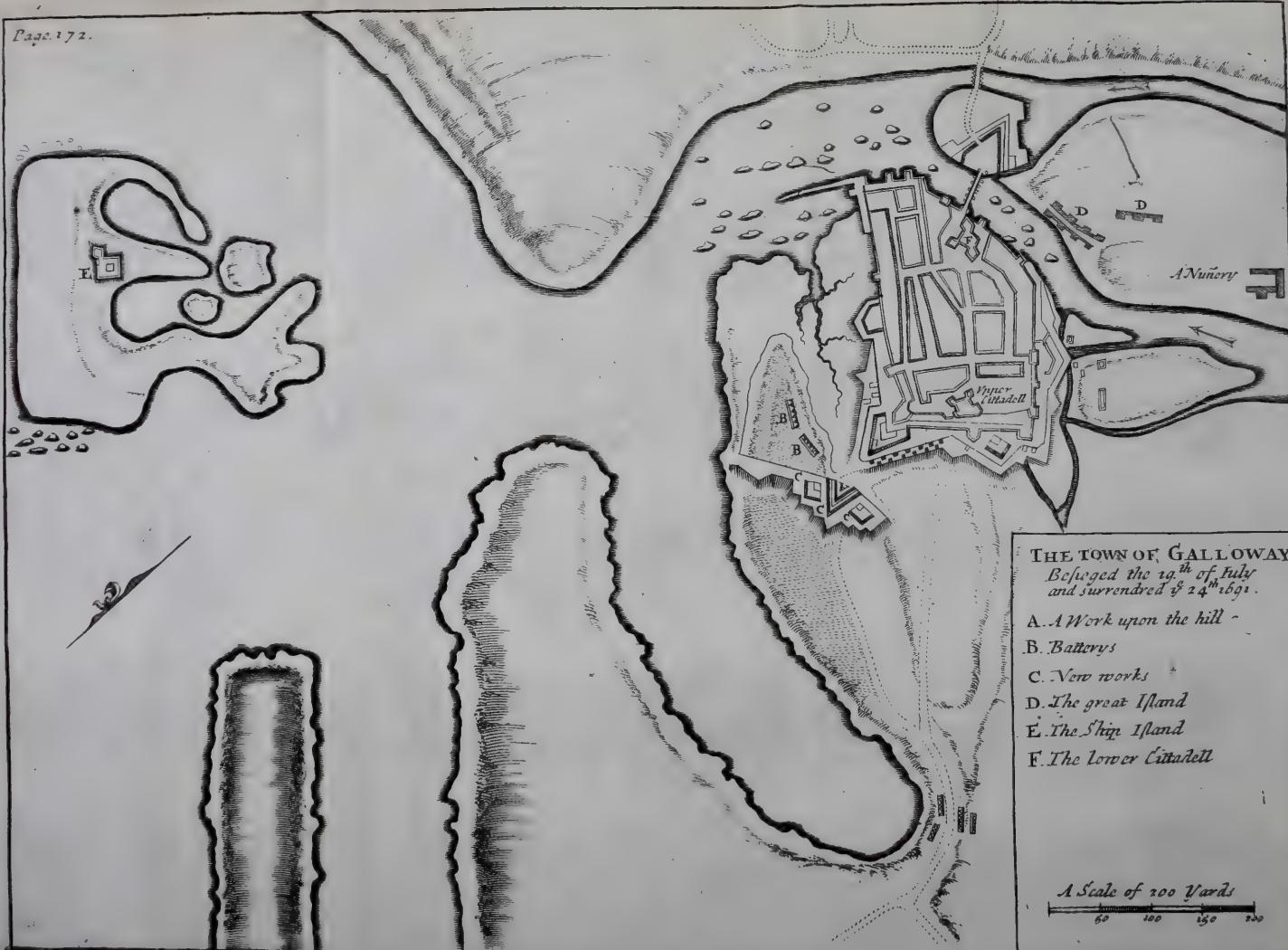
THE TOWN OF GALLOWAY

Besiged the 19th of July
and surrendered the 24th 1691.

- A. A Work upon the hill
- B. Batterys
- C. New works
- D. The great Island
- E. The Ship Island
- F. The lower Cittadell

A Scale of 200 Yards

60 100 150 200



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1691.

at first, and three of our Regiments being then in Town, each side seemed to suspect the other, and the Irish shewed some signs of being afraid that our Men were falling upon them, but the thing was presently over and the poor men taken care of : most of them that hapned this disaster going to two Irish Bishops for their Benediction, who were then in the Street and ready to march out with the Garison.

About ten a Clock my Lord *Dillon* marched out with the Irish Garison, being not above two thousand three hundred men, and those but indifferently armed and worse cloathed, they had six pieces of Cannon according to the Capitulation (four of which were Iron) and drawn by six Teams of our Horses, having a Guard of Horse and Dragoons from our Camp to conduct them to *Limerick*. At twelve a Clock the General himself went into Town, being attended after his entrance by the Mayor and Aldermen, the Recorder making a Speech to wish him Joy.

In the Evening one Captain *Brian O Neal* with most of his Company deserted from the Enemy, as did also several others, and taking the Oath of fidelity to their Majesties were either dismiss'd to their several Habitations, or else were entertained in our Army as their fancy led them. We found several Guns in Town unmounted, and two or three very fine Brass Guns which they had not planted in any place to be made use of, there was also good store of Ammunition left, besides eight hundred Hogs-heads of Meal, and other things of value.

July the 27th. That part of the Army encamp't beyond the River under Lieutenant General *Mackay* marcht through the Town, and our men were set to work in improving the Fort which the Irish had formerly begun towards the South-East Corner of the Wall

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Wall, six of our Guns were likewise sent into Town since we had furnished the Irish with Draught-horses for so many of theirs, then we levelled all the Batteries and other Works that we had begun against the place, and all sick Souldiers that were not able to march, were ordered to be taken care of by the Governor, except such as were sent in Waggons towards Athlone.

The Army
removes.

The 28th. we marched back to Athenree, and as the Army were in motion, Captain *Coil* with nine Men of War and eighteen other Ships appeared in the Bay of *Gallway*, to whom the General sent Orders to sail immediately for the *Shannon*; the twenty ninth we marched to *Longbreagh*, and the next day proving very rainy the Army rested. The 31th. the Army marched towards *Airs Court* a well improved place and a good Country all about, but upon occasion of the Waters being swelled by the former days rain, or else through the mistake of Orders, the Army encamped that night in three several places, which had been a good opportunity for a vigorous Enemy to endeavour the retrieving of their Losses, but the Truth of it was, they were at too great a distance for any such Attempt.

A Brief Ac-
count of what
hapned in o-
ther places of
the Kingdom.

And since we have brought the Army to the end of this month let us leave them a while on their march towards *Limerick*, and briefly give an account of what hapned much about this time in several other parts of the Kingdom.

July the 1st. Lieutenant Colonel *Davson* marcht with a Party of the Militia towards the *Comorra* Mountains not far from *Waterford* where he killed three Rapparees; and Major *Stroud* being one of the Officers appointed by the Government to Command the Militia in the County of *Cork*, killed ten Rapparees near *Bally-Clough*; and in ten days there were sixty more killed in that part of the Countrey adjoyning to *Bandon*, by Lieu-

Lieutenant Colonel *More* and others of the Militia, and Colonel *Blunt* killed five near *Castell*.

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In the beginning of *April* one *Duppine* obtained Letters Patents for the setting up a Linnen Manufacture in *Ireland*, this was very taking at first, and a great many of the Chief men in the Kingdom had shares in it. On the 8th. of *July* the Lords Justices with several of the Nobility and Judges met at the *Tholsell*, in *Dublin*, and there admitted several new Members of the said Corporation, but what this project will come to in this Kingdom is as yet uncertain.

The same day our *Smirna Fleet* came into the Harbour of *Kinsale*, and we had an account that our *Grand Fleet* was then nigh *Cape-Cleere*.

About this time five and twenty Rapparees were killed near *Mount-Melick*, and part of the Militia of *Roscreagh* go towards *Nenagh*, upon an expedition for black Cattle and killed ten Rapparees ; one Captain *Warren* killed nine also in the County of *Kilkenny*. On the 17th. ten Ships with Mortars, Bombs, Ammunition, &c. came from *Dublin* to *Kinsale*, being part of those convoyed afterwards by Captain *Coale* to *Limerick*, and then our Fleet convoyed the *Smirna Fleet* from *Kinsale* towards *England* : Ships also came to *Waterford* with one hundred Recruits for the *Brandenburg* Regiment who suffered much in the former Siege of *Limerick*, and some few also for the *Danes*.

John Weaver Esq; High Sheriff of the County of *Westmeath* by Order from the Government gives Protections to several Rapparees, and those discover a knot of Rogues, twenty three of whom were killed by the Militia, and three Gun-smiths also who were at work for them, on a Forge built in the midst of a great Wood. *July* the 20th. a Party of the Irish Army ap-

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pear nigh *Cashell*, but marched off again without attempting any thing: And Colonel *James Barry* with a Party of the Militia killed five and thirty Rapparees near *Tallough*, but being way-laid by the Enemy, most of his Party were killed or taken Prisoners, and himself carried to *Limerick*, where he remained a Prisoner till the Town was surrendered. The 22d, three Rapparees were killed near *Cork*, and four more towards *Cahir*. The 23d Lieutenant Colonel *Ramsey*, Captain *Kingfly* and other Officers with one hundred Souldiers out of Colonel *Venner's* Regiment (formerly Sir *Edward Deering's*) joyned with four hundred of the Militia marched towards *Sligo* to view the Posture of the Enemy thereabouts, and it being reported that Lieutenant General *Sheldon's* Horse were in that part of the Country; two hundred Horse and Dragoons were sent abroad to discover the Truth of it. Lieutenant Colonel *Ramsey* with the rest of the Party marched to *Ballysedara* Bridge, four Miles from *Sligo* where he found old Sir *Teague O'Regan* with eighty Horse, and about two hundred Foot very Advantageously posted, to hinder our passage that way, but our Party attacking them, they gave ground after some time, and Sir *Francis Hambleton* with some of the Militia, and a Troop of Colonel *Winn's* Dragoons coming in the mean time, the Enemy were pursued almost to the Fort of *Sligo*, about thirty of them killed and nineteen taken Prisoners, amongst whom were two Lieutenants and an Ensign, and the Store-keeper of *Sligo*. Sir *Teague* himself narrowly escaping for his mean Appearance was the reason that a Lieutenant was seized instead of him.

The Earl of *Drogheda's* Regiment had now Orders to march from the *Queens County* to *Mullingar*, where the

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the men were daily employed to improve and strengthen the Works, my Lord himself marched always with his Regiment, and then took a great deal of pains as well in seeing the Works compleated as in forwarding the Stores, and also in hearing and redressing Complaints and Grievances relating as well to the Army the Country. A Party of the Militia bring in some Prisoners from the Island nigh *Lanesborcugh* who were afterwards sent to *Dublin*.

Seventeen Rapparees were killed in the County of *Kildare* by two Parties of the Militia, and three hanged at *Edenderry*; five hundred of the Militia of the County of *Cork* under the Command of Colonel *Becker* met with about four hundred of the Irish beyond a place called *Shibbareene*, and after a small dispute the Enemy were put to flight, by which means our Party had almost surpriz'd *Mackarty Moore* and Colonel *O Donavan* who were not far off, the Enemy lost nigh sixty, and the Militia got a considerable Booty of Cattle, and nigh the same time one *Barry* a Captain with ten of his men deserted from the Enemy.

On the Thirtieth of *July*, part of the Militia of the County of *Wickloe*, being two Troops of Horse, two of Dragoons and five Companies of Foot rendezvoused on the *Murrough* five Miles from *Wickloe*, where they were viewed by Major *Brooks* and Captain *Phillips* appointed by the Government as Superintendents of the Militia of that County. And thus ended this active month of *July* in *Ireland*, where more execution was done then in all *Europe* besides, notwithstanding the great Preparations.

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C H A P. VII.

Several fresh Regiments ordered towards the Camp to Recruit the Army. Brigadier Leveson sent with a Party towards Nenagh, that place deserted by long Anthony Carol. A Treaty with Balderock O'Donel. The Army marches to Cariganlis. The General with a Party views Limerick. News of the Death of my Lord Tyrconel. Irish Lords Justices act after my Lord Tyrconel's death. A Party sent to meet our Guns. Colonel Lumley goes with a Party towards Charlevil. A Spy returns with an account of the Estate of Limerick. An Order about the Rates of Provisions. Another prohibiting the buying Cattle without the Generals License. Our Army goes to Limerick. Iretons Fort taken, then Cromwells Fort. Col. Donep killed. Our heavy Cannon came up. A Party sent to Castle-Cannel. Our Ships come up nigh the Town. Batteries planted. The Enemy afraid of our passing the River. Brigadier Leveson sent into Kerry. Some Protestants released from St. Thomas's Island. Major General Talmash commands in the Trenches. A brief Account of what hapned in other places of the Kingdom during the Month of August.

Fresh Regi-
ments sent for
to the Camp.

THe General being assured, that the Irish were using their utmost skill and industry to rally and re-inforce their shattered Army, and not knowing

ing how far despair might carry Men, that were come now to their last Stake, considering also that we had a strong Town before us, which would be the work of some Time to reduce, if the Enemy made what Resistance might justly be expected ; his own Troops being likewise harrassed by continual labour and toil, suffering often through scarcity of Bread and other Necessaries by reason of continual marching : Those and other Considerations prevailed with the General to send for all the Regiments that had been left in Munster and other places, except Colonel Hastings at Cork, and some Inniskilliner's in the North ; and some of them being already upon their march ; we were joyned on the First of August at Banoher Bridge by Colonel Matthews Dragoons, and Colonel Lloyd's Foot ; the latter upon further consideration, being ordered back to Athlone, for that Balderock's Party was still on foot. Banoher is about fourteen miles from Athlone down the River towards Limerick, and is a very strong Pass, at which the Irish kept three Regiments all the precedeing Winter, building small Huts to shelter themselves from the Weather : The Bridge it self consists of seventeen large Arches, one of which was broke down by the Irish, and another is since fallen. At the Bridge end, on Leinster side had been a considerable Stone Fort, built in the former Wars, now demolished by the Irish, but on the other side of the River they had cast up a Work close to the Bridge ; and there planted four Field peeces, behind which stood an Old Castle, not to be forced without Cannon, and nigh that a very Regular Fort, and well paliado'd, so that it was not so easie a thing to force this place at any time during the former Winter as

The Army
marched to
Banoher Bridg.

some

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some Coffee House Generals, and pot valiant Soul-diers made it, but Men, that have been bred up that way, and are actually upon the Place, are commonly best Judges of what is fit to be attempted in such a Case, though it is not convenient they should alwayes give Reasons for what they do to every one who pretend to be concern'd. Our Army encamped here on a narrow Neck of Ground left by the slopeing of the River on the Right, and a vast Bog on the Left. The Encampment being so strong, that it had been impossible for any Army or numbers of Men to have forced us from our Ground.

Brigadier Le-
veson sent for-
wards with
a Party.

August the Second, the Army halted, and a detachment of four Men out of each Troop of Horse, with a Party of Dragoons, making in all five hundred men, under the Command of Brigadier *Leveson*, were sent forwards to scowre the Country : On the Fourth this Party went to *Nenagh*, where stands the Remains of an Old Castle built by King *John*, and now the Inheritance of the Duke of *Ormond* : The Roof of this Castle was burnt by a Party of our Army at our decamping last year, but the Walls, and some other conveniences remain still, being possest all Winter by long *Anthony Carol*, whose Party was now about five hundred : Hearing therefore of Brigadier *Levesons* approach, he detached a Party towards a Bridge about half a mile from the Place, thinking to maintain that Pass till his Men might march safely off towards *Limerick*, but at his coming to the Bridge, perceiving our Men marching to the Right and Left to incompas him, after some few shots, he retreated to *Nenagh* setting the small part of the Town that was left on fire, which was soon quenched by some English Prisoners, that had been kept

Nenagh desert-
ed by the Irish.

kept there, but now released, when the Irish made towards *Limerick*, when our Men got to *Nenagh*, Major *Wood* was ordered with a Party to pursue the Irish, which he did almost to *Cariganlis*, taking most of their Baggage, and about four hundred large Cattle, which the Irish were in too great haste to carry off.

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The Third our Army marched to *Bir*, but the passage over the Bridge at *Banober*, being exceeding troublesome, it was late before the Guns and Carriages could be got up, and therefore we rested on the Fourth. And now we found, that notwithstanding all the supplies of Horses that we had out of *England*, yet there still wanted a great many for the use of the heavy Cannon, and therefore it was proposed to bring them down from *Athlone* to *Limerick* by Water, but that being found impracticable, the General sent to *Dublin*, where most of the Nobility and Gentry furnished him with their Coach Horses, but all those not being sufficient a great many more were pressed by an Order from the Government.

The Fifth we marched to *Burascane*, where there had been a pretty English Plantation, but burnt down the former Winter, by the Garrison of *Bir*, because they did not desire to have the *Rapparees* in so near a Neighbourhood.

The Sixth we marched to *Ninagh*, where we stayed four dayes for want of Bread and other Necessaries, it being no small difficulty to furnish an Army with constant Supplies in a desolate Country, when they are still upon their march, and where every thing must be carried upon the Axletree.

The Army
march thither.

Friday

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Friday the Seventh, The Lord Justice *Coningesby* came to the Camp, where he staid nigh a Fortnight: And

Saturday the Eighth, a Party of Horse and Dragoons with several Pioneers went towards the Silver Mines to mend the Roads for our heavy Carriages: Another Party at the same time marching towards *Killalow* Pals, who brought in seven or eight Prisoners. A Brigadier of the Guards and two more Horsemen desert the Enemy and inform us, that they were encamped nigh *Cariganlis*, and making what preparations they could to withstand us, forcing all the Irish into Arms, that were within their Jurisdiction, and arming their Foot anew out of the Stores at *Limerick*, and that they talked of giving us Battle again before we should approach the Town. The same day one Mr. *Richards* came from *Balderock O Donel* to our Camp, where he stayed two or three dayes, and then went towards *Dublin* in order to wait upon his Majesty, who was then in *Flanders*. His business was to assure the General of *Balderrooks* affections to their Majesties Service, and that if he might have the Men he brought over with him admitted into pay in order to serve his Majesty in *Flanders* or elsewhere, himself made Earl of *Tyrconnel*, to which he pretended a Title from his Ancestors, and have two thousand pounds given him for his expences, he would then come over to us, and bring a considerable Body of the Irish along with him, The General therefore considering that it was no ill policy to get the Irish to draw bloud one of another, consented to some of *O Donels* proposals, and the business was shortly after compleated, tho' *Baldereck* complained heavily that

A Treaty with
Balderock O
Donel.

the

the thing should be made publick to the great hinderance of the Numbers of Men he designed to bring off, and almost to the hazard of his own life, for this Treaty was first in the *Dublin Intelligence*, and then in the *London Gazette* dated *August* the 13th. which was before the thing was really compleated, but those that have seen *Balderock*, will believe that it was partly his own fault. There was also an Officer sent at the same time by Sir *Teague O Regan* from *Sligo* about the surrender of that place, the Articles being in a manner agreed to, but this businels was afterwards delayed, and the Government obliged to be at the expence and trouble of sending a Body of men from *Dublin* and other parts of the Kingdom to reduce it by force, and its confidently averred that this hapned meerly by the covetousness of one of our Colonels, who had the Secret of this Affair committed to his management.

August the 9th. Lieutenant Colonel *Oxborough* of Colonel *Lutterill's Horse*, his Lieutenant and their Attendance desert, and come to our camp, and a Foot Officer with eleven Musquiteers and their Arms came in also: A Man and a Woman were this day hanged in the Camp, the Man for robbing Tents, and the Woman for being accessary to the Murther of one of our Souldiers nigh *Gallway*. The time limited in the Lords Justices Proclamation dated *July* the 7th. being now expired, and the General willing still to use all fair means possible to bring in the Irish without the effusion of more Blood, he therefore orders the following Declaration to be prepared.

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August,
1691.

By Lieutenant General Ginckell, Commander in Chief of Their Majesties Forces.

A Declaration
from the General to the
Irish.

THE Enemies of Their Majesties Government, and the Disturbers of the Quiet of this Kingdom having been very industrious to conceal the Grace and Favour which has been offered to such as should return to their Duty. To take away all manner of excuse for the future, from those that still continue in Arms, I have thought fit to publish, that tho' the Term prescribed by the Lords Justices in their Proclamation of the seventh of July is expired, so that no man can lay claim to the Condescents therein made; yet if within ten days from the date hereof, any Person or Persons shall do the Services therein mentioned, I promise with the Consent of the Lords Justices, who are thereunto empowered by Their Majesties, that they shall have a full and free Pardon of all Treasons, Crimes, and Offences by them committed against Their Majesties Government, and be restored to their Estates forfeited by the said Treasons, &c. And to shew their Majesties Bounty and Confidence in

in them that leave the Enemy, and have a mind to testifie their Zeal and Affection to Their Majesties Service. I do hereby engage that all such Officers and Souldiers as come off from the *Irish* with a Body of Men, or surrender any Town or strong Castle into our Hands within the abovesaid ten days, shall have if they desire it the same or better Post or Employment in the Army then they left, and a Reward suitable to the Merit of the Service they perform, as those have already had who have surrendred themselves: But in case the Persons invited by this Declaration should neglect in time prescribed to lay hold on the same, they must never more expect the like Advantageous Terms and Condiscentions.

*Given at the Camp by Nenah the Eleventh
Day of August 1691. in the Third
Year of Their Majesties Reign.*

Bar. De Ginckell.

The Army that day marched to a place called *Shalley*, in a wild and desolate Country nigh the Silver-Mines, where in the former Wars, about seventeen of Sir *George Hambleton's* Followers were slain by the *Kenedies*, and here Major General *Trelawnyng's* Regiment joined us; the 12th. we marched to a place called *Tulla*, where we halted next day, and our

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Advance Guards brought in one of the Enemies Out-scouts a Prisoner. Several Deserters also come off to us, amongst whom were two of the Horse Guards, who inform the General that the Irish Foot were drawn into *Limerick*, and their Horse having burnt several places that escaped their fury last year, were retired likewise near the Town; we understand also that my Lord *Tyrconnell* was taken suddenly very ill, and there were several disorders amongst the Chief Officers in *Limerick*, some of them being suspected to incline to our side: From hence the General sent a Spy who took several of the Declarations in order to disperse them in Town.

The Army go to *Cariganliss*.

The 14th. we marched to *Cariganliss*, and the General with the rest of our Great Officers went with a Party within two Miles of *Limerick*, near which three of the Enemies Scouts being posted upon the top of a round Hill towards our left, two of them deserted to us as our Party drew off.

A Party go to-wards *Limerick*.

The 15th. in the Morning early, fifteen hundred Horse and Dragoons, commanded by Major General *Ruvigny*, and one thousand detached Foot as a reserve in case of danger commanded by the Prince of *Hess*, with six Field-peeces were ordered to march towards *Limerick*, with whom went the General and all the Chief Officers in order to view the Town: The Enemy had lined the Hedges in several places with Foot, and there appeared two Squadrons of Horse and a Party of Dragoons about a Mile on this side the Town, who fronted our Men for some time, but when they saw our Advance Party resolved to push them, they retired nearer home, and afterwards their Foot fired several Small-shot, but without any harm to us, tho' about seven of the Enemy were killed by our Dragoons: We stayed several hours within less then Can-

non-

non-shot of the Town, upon the Ground where we encamped the year before, we could see that they had repaired *Ireton's* Fort and built another some distance to the Right, where formerly stood an Old Church, and a third was begun also with a Line of Communication from one to the other, but not as yet finished, they had then two Field-peeces in *Ireton's* Fort, but did not fire them, and drew them off to the Town next day. Whilst we staid there, first a Drummer, and then one *Hagan* a Captain came off to us, who informed the General that my Lord *Tyrconnell* died the day before; some say of Grief, because things went not according to his desire, and that after all his Endeavours and good Services to promote the Catholick Cause, he was slighted to that Degree, that whilst their Camp lay by *Athlone*, one Lieutenant Colonel *Conner* came to my Lord's Tent and bid him be gone from the Camp, else he would cut his Tent-Cords: My Lord *Tyrconnell* knowing that he durst not be so impudent without a considerable Faction to support him, went next Morning early towards *Limerick*, where he remained till his death, which some say was not without suspition of foul play, in being poisoned with a Cup of *Rattafeau*, this is nothing but Apricock-stones bruised and infused in Brandy, which gives it a pleasant Relish, some of which my Lord *Tyrconnell* had given him at an Entertainment; and falling ill upon it, he often repeated the word, *Rattafeau*, which made several believe that he had received Poyson in that Liquor, because he would not comply with the prevailing Faction then in Town. But most People say that he died of a Fever: However it was, he certainly had managed the Affairs of that Kingdom from his entrance upon publick Business to his dying day with as much dexterity and zeal for the Interest

My Lord Tyr-
connell dies at
Limerick.

he

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he* pretended to serve as any man could have done.

At the General's return from viewing the Town, he found a considerable quantity of Bread-Waggons come to the Camp under the Convoy of the Militia Horse and Dragoons of the County of Tipperary, whom the General viewed and sent home again. We had now a Train of nine 24 Pounders, nine 18 Pounders, and three Mortars with Ammunition and other Utensils of War proportionable, which left Athlone on the 12th. under the care of Col. Lloyd's Regiment and a Party the Militia, who were met upon the Road by the Earl of Drogeda's and Colonel Penner's Foot Regiments with a small Party of Horse, but the General remembering what hapned to our Train the year before, and that the same People were still as industrious as formerly. Major General la Forrest with a good Detachment of Horse and Dragoons was sent on the 16th. to meet our Cannon.

The same day a Captain and a Lieutenant desert from the Enemy and confirm the Report of the death of my Lord Tyrconnell, and withal that Francis Plowden Esq; (one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in the late King's time) had brought over a Commission from the late King out of France, appointing Sir Alexander Fitton, Sir Richard Neagle and the said Francis Plowden Esq; to be Lords Justices of Ireland, which Commission lay dormant till my Lord Tyrconnel's death, by which it appeared that his Adversaries were like to prove too many for him if he had lived, and that tho' he had promoted the late King's desires (tho' not his real Interest) to the utmost, and was of the same Religion too with himself, yet he was in a fair way of being served as others had been before him.

We understood also that Colonel Henry Lutterill was not only suspected to hold a Correspondence with our Army

Some of the
Irish Officers
suspected for
holding a Cor-
respondence
with our Ar-

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Army, but was taken into Custody and tried for his life, in that he with some others had consulted about the surrender of the Town, for which they designed to put him to death, but that they either wanted clear Proof, or else waited for Advice from France about it, but the occasion of Colonel *Lutteril's* confinement was upon the account of a Letter brought him by a Trumpeter from some great Officer in our Army when the Garrison of *Gallway* was conveyed to *Limerick*, for the Trumpeter having given one to *Sarcefield*, denied his having any more Letters, but being threatned with hanging if searched and any more Letters found about him, he produced another to Col. *Lutterill*, upon which the said Colonel and Lieut. Col. *Burk* that came from *Gallway* were both confined : They were jealous also of Brigadier *Clifford*, tho' they did not think fit at that time to take any great notice of it ; all which accounts we had confirmed by a Pacquet of Letters intercepted upon the Road to *Killmalock*, amongst which was one from a Priest giving the Irish great hopes of Victory after all, *For that God had scourged the Nation round for their sins, and now he hoped he would cast the Rod into the Fire.* That Afternoon Sir *John Hanmer* with his own Regiment, Colonel *Hales's*, the *Brandenburg*, and a *Danish* Regiment of Foot, and Colonel *Coy's* Horse joyn the Camp, and those with two Regiments more that came up with the Train made us a stronger Army then at the opening of the Campaign.

The 17th. the Weather being exceeding Stormy ; Sir *William King* who had been formerly Governour of *Limerick*, but a Prisoner for part of these two years past, came to our Camp, who was very serviceable to the General both in his Advice, and otherways during the remainder of the Campaign. The 18th. Colonel *Lumley* went out with a Party of four hundred Horse A Party sent towards *Clare*, towards *Leril*.

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A Party sent
towards Char-
levill.

towards Charlevill, where we understood some of the Enemy had posted themselves, but having notice of our approach they quitted the place, tho' some of them were killed in the going off, and one Captain *Massey* staid behind and fired his Pistols at our Advance Party, but he and a Coraet being seized, and Protections found in both their Pockets, they were afterwards hanged as Deserters.

A Spy returns
from Limerick.

The 19th. A Spy sent from *Tulla* to disperse the General's Declarations in *Limerick*, returned, having effected his business without being discovered, and some other people seized upon suspicion of doing it, he gave also a good Account how Matters stood then with the Irish, that their Horse and Dragoons called 5000 in number, were encamped beyond the River in the County of *Clare*, that a vast number of *Creights* and their Cattle were all drawn towards the Town, and that the bad weather was as injurious to them as us, in that most of their Foot were in the Town, and in their works, which lying low were almost filled with Water, but that they had demolished some of their new works on this side the Town, least their men should desert from thence to our Army; and that the Irish talked of a *Pacquet-Boat* come from *France*, by which they were encouraged to hold out having promise of Provisions, and immediate Succours to follow: The same day a Trumpet was sent to *Limerick* about the exchange of some Prisoners we then had with the Irish that were taken formerly upon small Parties in the Country. And on the 20th. two Troopers and a Dragoon desert from the Enemy, but the weather was now so very bad that the Army could not move, and it was much feared that our Guns would not be got up the ways were grown so deep, however our men were not idle, but in the midst of all the rain and wet they made Faggots, and other necessary Preparations to being the Seige. The

The General had now some suspicion that *Balderock O Donnel* was not sincere in what he had promised, as appears by his Letter sent this day to Col. *Lloyd*, then on his march with the Guns; part of which was as follows.

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SIR,

BY a Letter this day received, I have some reason to apprehend that *O Donnel* is not so sincere in his Treaty as is to be wished: For that reason, as soon as you have convoyed the Cannon till they join the Detachment under the Marquess *La Forrest*'s Command, I would have you return with your Regiment to *Athlone*, and send the Northern Militia back to their Country, to prevent any Inroads he may make that way. But if you find that *O Donnel* submits, as he promised, or that *Sligo* is surrendred, you must continue your March according to your former Orders, &c.

The General's
Letter to Col.
Lloyd.

Camp at Cariganless, Aug. 20.

But this was only Misinformation, for *O Donnel* made it appear afterwards that he was sincere in his Intentions, and that he had no mind to join with Sir *Teague O Regan*, as was suspected. The 21st the Badness of the Weather increased, and several Regiments were forced to remove their Camps, the Water overflowing their former Ground. Major *O Conner* and nine more desert the Enemy, and inform the General, that if we had either of the Passes at *Killallow* or *Bryans-Bridg*, a great many of the Enemies Horse and Dragoons would desert. And this Evening our Tinboats came up to the Camp, being brought by Water from *Athlone* towards *Killallow*.

The General taking notice of the extravagant Rates the Sutlers and others that furnished the Camp with Provisions, had raised their Goods to, he sent out an Order that all Ale from *Dublin* or *Wicklow* should be sold at 6 d.

Orders about
ascertaining
the Rates of
Provisions.

An. 1691. per Quart, all other Ale coming above forty Miles, at 5 d.
 August. and all under forty Miles, at 4 d. White Bread to be sold
 at 3 d. a Pound, Brown Bread at 2 d. Claret at 2 s. 6 d.
 per Quart, Rhenish at 3 s. Brandy at 12 s. per Gallon, &c.
 And that no Person should presume to exceed those Rates,
 on the Penalty of forfeiting all his Goods, and suffering a
 Month's Imprisonment. But they presently found out a
 Trick for this, and called all Drink that came to the
 Camp, *Dublin* or *Wicklow* Ale; and were so far from
 observing this Order, that Drink growing scarce towards
 the close of the Campagn, they sold their Ale at 14 d. per
 Quart. Another Order was likewise published about the
 buying of Cattle, as followeth.

By Lieutenant General Ginckell.

An Order against the buying of Cattle without the General's Licence.

THAT all Persons may avoid the buying of Cattle of the Officers and Souldiers, which has hitherto been attended with great Inconveniences, I have thought fit to order and declare, That whosoever shall buy any Cattle from any Officer or Souldier of the Army, without Leave first had in Writing from my self, shall forfeit the said Cattle to their Majesties Use, and be delivered to the Civil Magistrate to be proceeded against as a Receiver of Stolen Goods. And for the Encouragement of all those who shall detect any of the said Abuses, I do farther direct, That whosoever shall discover any Cattle thus bought, and bring them, or so secure them that they be brought to my self, shall have one half of the same for a Reward of his Pains and Care he has taken.

This Order was dated the day before, and now published in the Camp, which prevented a great many Followers of the Army from committing several Disorders, that of themselves they were very much inclined to.

August

August 22. the Weather begun to amend: and *Francis Burton* Esq; was sent by the General to the Squadron of Ships then in the River, with Orders for them to sail nearer the Town. The 23d two hundred and fifty fresh Draught-Horses were sent out to hasten up the Train; and each Regiment was ordered to make ready 2000 Fascines to begin the Work at *Limerick*. One *Dowdall* a Counsellor, and *Sheldon* a Lieutenant in the Irish Foot-Guards, desert: and two Troopers and a Sutler were condemned at a Court Martial, the two Troopers for robbing, and the Sutler for buying Goods of them, contrary to the General's strict Orders. That Evening also our Guns came within sight of the Camp: and the Weather now seeming to promise us our wonted Success, the General resolved to move forwards; but since the Irish Army were all in and about the Town, and 'twas probable they might design us some Trouble in our Approach, therefore it was ordered that at break of Day next Morning the Army should be ready to march, but without beat of Drum; six hundred Horse, three hundred Dragoons, and one thousand Firelocks, and two hundred Granadeers out of each Line for an Advance-Party: these were to march in two Lines at the Head of either Wing, with four Field-pieces each, and twenty five Pioneers a piece to cut down any Rubs that might be in their way; the whole Body of Horse were to march after the detached Foot, with each Man three Fascines before him, which they were to leave where ordered; so that the Enemy might see we were resolved to spare no Pains, rather than go without the Town a second time. Then all the Foot were to march, and after them the Train; and no Baggage whatever to march near the detached Party, who were to march directly to the Quakers House, and there to make a Halt till the Foot came up. Then the Right Line to fall into the Road on the right Hand, and

An. 1691. the Left Line on the other Road from the Quakers House :
August. and all to draw up afterwards in order of Battel ; so to march easily towards the Town, making several Halts to observe the Enemies Motion. These Orders I have set down, to shew the Reader the Method of approaching Towns, when an Army expects Opposition from an Enemy, though the Irish did not give us much disturbance in this. But before we leave *Cariganless*, I know not whether it may be worth the Reader's while to be informed of a Tradition that the People in the Neighbourhood have concerning 2 old Castles that stand nigh half a Mile from this place, and not above a stone's cast one from another : they say that in former times two *Brehons*, or Irish Judges, lived in those two Castles, who hapned at last to have some Disputes about their Properties ; and their Wives, though they were Sisters, used to stand upon the Battlements of their own Houses, and scold at one another for several hours together ; which at length one of them being weary of, she found out a Trick only to appear and begin the Fray, then she would place an Image that she had dress'd up in her own Clothes, in such a posture as her Sister could not discern it from her self at that distance ; who not sensible of the Cheat, she used to scold on, and at last fretted her self to death, because she could not be answered in her own Language. But I'm afraid the Women in this Country will scarce pardon this Story : And therefore according to the former Orders,

Our Army approaches the City of Limerick. Friday the 25th, the Army marched towards *Limerick*, leaving two Regiments of Foot and one hundred Horse till the Cannon come up next day. Our Advance-Party of Horse and Dragoons met with no great Opposition, only some small firings between them and the Irish Out-Guards, with no great damage to either side. We made our Approaches much after the same manner we did the Year before, tho we drew more to the Left, and nearer the

the *Shannon*, but fix'd our Camp further from the Town.

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When greatest part of our Army was got up, our Detached Body of Foot, under the Command of Lieut. Gen. *Mackay*, was ordered to Attack *Ireton's* Fort, and the old Church-Fort, where we expected the Enemy had lodged a Party ; our Men made a Line cross the Fields, and were sustained by several entire Regiments of Foot, and a Body of Horse. We advanced towards both the Forts at one time, and found the upper one deserted : and when we came almost within Musquet-shot of *Ireton's* Fort, the Irish quitted that also, and retired towards a little stone Fort nigh the Outworks of the Town. Our Men seeing them draw off, rushed forwards and fired ; but to no great purpose, for the Enemy, after some faint Returns, presently lodged themselves in the other Fort : And towards the Evening Count *Nassau* with a Party attacked *Cromwel's* Fort, standing to the left of the other, which the Irish had made pretty defensible, and wherein they had then about 500 Men lodged : Our Granadeers were in the Front, who were saluted with a Volley of Shot from the Enemy ; but this being a thing they were now pretty well used to, they ran forwards, and threw in their Granades ; and then being followed by the whole Party, the Irish in less than half an Hour left the Fort to our Discretion : We had only two or three killed, and the Enemy about ten, though some made them a great many more.

Oliver *Cromwel*, in the former Wars of *Ireland*, never went further than *Clonmel* ; for there receiving Orders from the Parliament to go for *England*, he entrusted the Management of the Army to *Ireton* ; who at the besieging of *Limerick*, built several Forts ; two of the most remarkable, bearing the Names of *Ireton's* and *Cromwel's*, were now ordered to be called *Mackay's* and *Nassau's*.

An. 1691. *sau's* Forts, because gained under those Commanders ; and
 August. by those Names we shall call them for the future, when
 there is occasion to mention them. When we came up
 towards the Town, we found a Man newly hanged up
 on the Gallows, who the Irish said was an Officer of
 theirs, and put there for endeavouring to desert to our
 Army. The General having some Intimation of a Sal-
 ley designed from the Town that Night, and judging it
 not improbable, since they had so good a Body of Horse
 behind it, he commanded therefore that our Horse should
 not unsaddle, but each Trooper to lie all Night by his
 Horse's Head, to be ready upon the first Alarm. Col.
 Donep, who commanded our advance Party of Horse,
 was killed that Evening by a random Shot ; being a Gen-
 tleman who had a very good Character, both among the
 Danes and English.

The 26th all our Train came up, as also a great many
 Carriages with Bombs, Ball, Shovels and Pickaxes, and
 800 Barrels of Powder. This Night we broke Ground,
 and made our Approaches with no great losf, casting up
 some Works nigh the *Shannon* towards the West, behind
 which the Danes encamped, and maintained that part of
 the Work during the Siege. We improved also these Forts
 deserted by the Irish, and drew a new Line from the old
 Church Fort to *Mackay's*.

The Prince of *Hess* sent to *Castle-Connel*.
 The 27th in the Morning the Prince of *Hess* with his
 own Regiment, Col. *Tiffin's*, and Col. *St. John's*, five
 pieces of Cannon, and about 700 Horse and Dragoons,
 marched to *Castle-Connel*, which we had not blown up
 effectually last Year, and wherein the Irish had now a
 Garrison of 250 Men. They refused the Prince's Proffers
 to them at first ; but after two Days Siege, were con-
 tent to be all made Prisoners of War. The same Day
 Maj. Gen. *Scrattemore* went with another Party, and four
 Guns, to *Carick-a-Gunnel*, a Castle upon the River, three
 miles

miles below the Town, wherein was a Garrison of 150 Men, who also submitted to be Prisoners of War, as did one or two Castles more ; the leaving these Detachments in such places being very accountable, since they had a mind to defend them no better. This seems rather want of Instructions what to do, than Courage to perform it ; for to give the Irish their due, they can defend stone Walls very handsomly. We read that Sir *George Carew*, President of *Munster* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, took the Castle of *Dunboy* in the West of *Ireland* by Assault, where the Irish made the most resolute Defence of any of the like nature before or since ; for the Garrison being 130 choice Men, were all either killed or hanged for holding out ; and some of them defended the very Vaults during a whole Night, though all the rest of the Castle was taken ; and one *Mack Geoghagan* being desperately wounded, when he saw the English enter the Vault, he endeavoured to cast a lighted Candle into a Barrel of Powder to blow himself and them up together ; but was prevented in his Design, and so died.

The Irish planted two Field-pieces on the opposite side the River, by which they obliged two Regiments of our Dragoons that lay close to the *Shannon* to remove ; but as soon as we had placed some Guns to flank their small Battery, they drew off. Orders were given to fit up 600 Bombs, and 1000 Hand-Granades : and in the Afternoon eighteen of our Ships came up the River, within a mile of the Town, and fired some Shots into the Irish Horse-Camp as they sailed along, they being encamped at that time nigh the River, at a place called *Craightulagh* : This put several of the Irish much out of Countenance, for till then they were made believe, that either we had no Ships in the River, or else those we had would quickly be swallowed up by the French Fleet, which they hourly expected.

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August.

Our Ships
come nigh the
Town.

An. 1691. The 28th an Order was sent to *Kinsale*, for the rest
 August. of the Provision-Ships then in that Harbour to sail to the
Shannon. And the General went on board some of those
 Ships that came up the Day before, giving Command to
 bring on shoar several Pieces of new Cannon and Mor-
 tars; which was performed on the 29th. And all the
 Prisoners that had been taken in several Castles, being
 about 400 in number, were sent towards *Clonmel*, with
 a Party of Horse and Dragoons to guard them. This
 Evening our Line of Circumvallation was finished, and
 our other Works, by hard labour, much improved; the
 Enemy playing hot upon us from the King's Castle, and
 three more Batteries. Our Businels was now to raise a
 Battery for ten Guns and seven Mortars, which was per-
 formed before next Morning; and August the 30th our
 Guns and Mortars were drawn down to it: the first be-
 gan immediately to play on *Thoumond-Bridg*, and the
 Houses on that side the Town; at Night also our
 Bombs began to fly with pretty good Succes, 101 being
 thrown before next Morning.

The Enemy now desert *Killmallock*, a Town upon the
 Road between *Cork* and *Limerick*, whither the Irish
 flocked in great Numbers in former times, to welcome
 the Earl of *Desmond* out of *England*, who was sent over
 upon some Reasons of State by Queen *Elizabeth*; their
 first Salutations were to throw Wheat and Salt upon him
 in token of Peace and Plenty: But next day, when they
 saw him go to Church, they fell to murmur, and spit
 at him, and never would own him more: And so hate-
 ful was not only our Religion, but even the Civil Ha-
 bits and Customs of the English to some of them, that in
 the same Queen's Reign it was with much difficulty that
 some of the Irish Nobility could be perswaded to put on
 their Robes, when they were to appear in the House of
 Lords in time of Parliament. And I have heard it af-
 firmed

The Enemy
 desert *Killmal-
 lock*.

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firmed by those that knew it, that even in this last War, and (if I am not much mistaken) in the Parliament that was held at *Dublin* by the late King too, it was proposed by some, to destroy all fine Houses, and every thing else that look'd like Improvement, and so return to the former barbarous way of living of their Ancestors, that it might not be worth the while for *England*, or any other Nation, to seek a new Conquest over them: but these Men did not consider that *England* has been at too much Expence, and is now too well acquainted with *Ireland*, ever to be without it.

August 31. One Capt. *Morice*, a Lieutenant, and eleven Dragoons belonging to Sir *Donald O-Neal*'s Regiment, deserted from beyond the River, and tell us, that the Enemy were mightily apprehensive of our getting over; but that their Horse and Dragoons would endeavour to watch our Motion, and do all they could to prevent us. Our Batteries play very hard all this Day; and at Night, four out of each Troop of Horse and Dragoons throughout the Army, were ordered to work at a new Battery, to the Right of the former, and somewhat nearer the Town; they wrought very stoutly, and finished their Battery before next Morning. This was a thing very unusual for Horsemen, especially to work in Trenches; but there was in a manner a Necessity for it, for our Foot were upon Duty by whole Regiments every second Night, beside Detachments and Workmen upon sundry Occasions every Day: And therefore Adjutant General *Withers* was commanded to order the Regiments that marched to the Trenches, not to mount with Colours, that the Enemy might not be sensible how fast our Duty came upon us.

The same Day a Party of four hundred Horse was sent abroad to scour the Country: And Brigader *Le-*
D d *veson*, Brigader *Le-*
veson sent into
Kerry.

August, 1691. *veson*, with seven hundred Horse and Dragoons, went into the County of *Kerry*, to reduce the Irish in those Parts: Which some of the Inhabitants in other Places will needs call the most natural Irish in the Kingdom; and yet they say, every Cow-boy amongst them can speak Latin, on purpose to save them from the Gallows, when they come afterwards to be tried for Theft: For though there be very severe Laws against it, and often put in Execution; yet Robbing, Plundering or Stealing, are accounted but small Crimes amongst the Natives, if not done to their Lords or Followers: for what they could purchase formerly, they thought it clear Gain, and Castles built to secure it; which thievish Spirit is not as yet quite banished that part of the Country, nor scarce any other part of the Kingdom. And though this sort of People have been always observed to have dexterous Faculties at more kinds of Mischiefs than Stealing: yet it's no new Complaint, *That by long Use it is grown to a mischievous Custom in Ireland, that Rebels and Malefactors might, with the Money they had gotten by Pillage and Plunder, when they set Places on fire, procure for themselves Protections, and escape without Punishment.* Cox, Vol. I. p. 415. *Brigadier Leveson*, at his going into *Kerry*, found the whole Country up in Arms against him; my Lord *Merion's* and my Lord *Bretta's* Horse being there to assist the Rapparees.

About a Mile above *Limerick*, there lies a small Island in the *Shannon*, called *St. Thomas's* Island, where formerly stood a Chappel dedicated to that Saint, but now ruinous, though at present there are two or three small Houses in the Island, and some little Inclosures. Here the Irish had kept several of the Protestants belonging to the City, under a Guard, for some time past; and now

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now they were released by Major *Strond*, who kept Guard at *Anighbegg* with a Party of the County of *Cork* Militia ; the Irish Captain, and some others of their Guard coming off also with them. But what can be a greater Testimony of a rapacious Humour than this ? for some of the Militia stripp'd their Fellow-Protestants of what the Irish had left them, as they conducted them from the Island to our Camp ; which I would not have said, but that I had it from the Mouths of those very People that were so served ; who during their stay in Town with other Protestants of all sorts, had shewed the greatest Affection and Compassion imaginable to those of our Army that were Prisoners there : but now the Scene was altered ; and all the Shift that themselves could make for some days, was to make up little Places to creep into amongst the Fascines that lay on heaps by the General's Quarters, till our Waggons carried them farther off into the Countrey.

This Night Major General *Talmash* commanded in the Trenches, by whose Diligence and Example the Works were run nearer, and much strengthned, though the Major General *Talmash* commands in the Trenches. Enemy fired very briskly all Night, and did us some Damage. The Battery raised by the Troopers was also improved, (lying between *Nassau*'s Fort and the other Battery) and eight Gurs brought down to it ; but this being judged also too remote from the Town, the Guns were never planted.

But it's now time to leave the Camp a little, and look backwards to see what was done in other parts of the Kingdom during this Month of *August*. And first at *Dublin*, there was great care taken to procure as many Horses as could be got for the necessary Occasions of the Army. Provisions likewise of all sorts and Ammunition were sent up continually : and the Harvest being now

August, almost ready, and very few Hands being left to take care of that Corn which the Irish had sown in several places of *Connaught*, the Lords Justices therefore order a Proclamation to be published, *August* the fourth; "That whereas since the Battel of *Agbrim*, and the Surrender of *Galway*, the Farmers, Cottiers, and other Inhabitants of *Connaught*, had withdrawn themselves, so that there were not Hands sufficient to get in the Harvest; It was therefore proclaimed, That all Farmers, Cottiers and Under-Tenants following the Enemies Camp, that should within fifteen days return to their Habitations in *Connaught*, and apply themselves to the bringing in the Harvest, they should not only quietly and peaceably enjoy their several Farms as they formerly did, &c. but should be fully and absolutely protected, if not guilty of private Murder. And that all Persons that would mow the Grafs, and reap the Corn upon the Land of such Absentees as would not return themselves, should have one half of such Corn and Hay to their own proper Use, and be protected in the quiet and peaceable Possession thereof, behaving themselves as good Subjects, and bringing the other half to some convenient Place upon the Farm for the King's Service.

But how good soever the Design might be, I heard of little Effect this Proclamation had: for several of the Irish last Spring had plowed and sown their Lands in *Connaught*, hoping we would never come thither; and those that did not plow, expected to come over, and get enough on our side the *Shannon*: but when they were disappointed in both these, they would yet go along with the Crowd in hopes of returning again in a small time. And it's observable that there have not been so many Marriages

riages for many Years before amongst the Irish, as was last Winter in *Limerick*, *Galway*, and all *Connaught* over; whether it was out of confidence that they should certainly be Masters of the Kingdom after all, or else that they were crowded into a narrower Compass, and so had the more Opportunities of Courting, I leave others to judg.

August the fourth, Sir *Albert Cunningham*'s Dragoons being left at *Galway* when the Army moved from thence, march'd now to *Portumna* and *Athenree*; and a hundred Foot detached under Major *Smith*, to *Loughrea*.

By Letters from *Cassell*, *August* 5. the Government had notice that great Heats and Debates arose daily amongst the great Officers in the Irish Army; and that some Persons endeavouring to get off for *France*, were forced back again, and the Ship taken, wherein the Goods belonging to Monsieur *Saint Ruth*, the late General, were on board; and that several Ladies were forced ashore in *Kerry*, or obliged to return to *Limerick*; and that a Privateer brought into *Rye* a Prize of six Guns and six Patereroes, bound from *Limerick* to *France*, having several Passengers on board; amongst the rest, my Lord *Abercorn*, who was killed in the Fight, as were several more killed and wounded on both sides. What Letters and other Papers they had, could not be recovered, for they threw them over-board.

Nigh this time Colonel *Mitchelburn* with his own Regiment, and a Party of the Militia, invest *Sligo*; and Terms were proposed, but not agreed to, as is already said.

Part of the *Virginia* Fleet, being seventy two Sail of Merchant-Ships, came into *Kinsale* Bay on the twelfth of *August*, under the Convoy of the *Experience* and the *Wolf*, forty Sail more of them being gone to *Bristol*.

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August

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August the 13th, three Leagues West of Cape Clear, a French Man of War met with 14 English Merchant-Men homewards bound from *Antego, Mewis and Monseerrat*, and took two of them, the rest escaping into *Cork* and *Baltimore* Havens. Two of our Men of War went in quest of the French-man, but could not meet with him. My Lord *Kinsale* leaves the Enemy, and comes to *Kinsale*: and seven Rapparees were killed at a place called *Montervary* in the County of *Cork*. *Croneen, Devane* and *Sexton*, three noted Rogues, were killed; and one *Murphy* taken near *Macroomp* by Major *Fenwick*.

August the 16th, some Irish Souldiers that escaped at the Battel of *Aghrim*, and afterwards set up for themselves, took a Prey of Cattle near *Kinsale*, and drove it fifteen Miles; but being pursued by a Party of the Militia, four of them were killed, and the Prey recovered. Night the same time a Dutch Vessel loaden with Wine and Salt, came into *Bantry Bay*; and some of *O Donevan's* Men surprized her at Anchor: but Col. *Beecher* with four Boats, manned with a Party of his Militia, came about from the Island of *Shartin*, and retook the Ship, forced twelve of the Irish into the Sea, who were drowned, and took twenty four more of them that had got into their Boats.

August the 17th, one hundred and forty Commission-Officers, taken at *Ballymore, Athlone* and *Aghrim*, were sent on board several Ships with a Guard of *Dublin* Militia, conducted by the *Monmouth* Yatch, and to be delivered to the Governour of *Chester*. Capt. *Darby* of the *Leap* kills eight Rapparees in an Island near *Birr*. And August the 20th, Capt. *Dunbar* was sent by Sir *Henry Bellasis* Governour of *Galway*, to take possession of the Island and Garrison of *Buffin*, which he had obliged to submit upon the following Articles.

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Articles and Capitulations agreed upon by Sir Henry Bellasis Governor of Galway, and Colonel Timothy Royrdan Governor of Buffin, concerning the Surrender of the said Island and Garrison.

First, That the said Island of Buffin, and the Fort thereof, and the adjacent Islands belonging to the Earl of Clanrickard, shall be surrendered to such Officers as shall be appointed by the Governor of Galway, with all the Stores, Ammunition, Provisions and Magazines of all sorts, without Imbezelment, so soon as the Governor of Galway shall think fit to send thither after Captain Nicholas Blake's return from thence.

Secondly, In Consideration of the Surrender as aforesaid, the Garrison shall march forth with flying Colours, Drums beating, Match lighted, Bullet in Mouth, and as much Ammunition as each Officer and Soldier can carry with him.

Thirdly, That the Governor, Officers and Soldiers of the said Garrison, the Lord Atherry, Lieutenant Colonel John Kelly, and all the Inhabitants of the said Islands, shall possess and enjoy their Estates Real and Personal, as they held, or ought to have held under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, or otherways, by the Laws of this Kingdom, freely discharged from all Crown-Rents, Quit-Rents, and all other Charges to the Date hereof: And that Col. John Brown his being in Buffin, shall not bar him from the Capitulations of Galway: and that if the said Colonel John Brown shall desire

August, 1691. desire to go to *Limerick*, the Governour of *Galway* promises that he shall be safely conducted thither with his Horses, Servants and Arms.

‘ *Fourthly*, That the Governour, Officers and Souldiers, and other the Inhabitants thereof, by any Grant of King *James* the Second, before his Abdication, or any of his Ancestors, shall have a general Pardon of all Attainders, Outlawries, Treasons, Felonies, Premunires, and other Offences committed since the said K. *James*’s Reign, to the Date hereof.

‘ *Fifthly*, That the Garison, Officers and Souldiers, shall be transported from thence, either to *Galway*, or the River *Shannon*, in order to go to *Limerick*, or otherwise march over Land with safe Conduct, as to the Governour shall seem fittest ; with Arms, Bag and Baggage, as aforesaid.

‘ *Sixthly*, That the Governour of *Buffin* shall be furnished, if need be, with necessary Horses to carry his Equipage to *Limerick*.

‘ *Seventhly*, That any of the Inhabitants of the said Island that shall desire it, may go or be transported to *Limerick*, with their Goods, along with the Garison, and be as safely conducted as they ; and that if they shall march by *Galway*, the said Souldiers, if they shall need it, shall be furnished with four Days Provision of Bread for their march to *Limerick*.

‘ *Eighthly*, That Capt. *Michael Cormack*, and Capt. *Domnick Brown*, if they will, may stay and remain in the said Island, and enjoy their Stock, Corn, and other Goods, under safe Protection, with their Servants and Families. And that if any of the Garison, Officers or Souldiers, or any of the Inhabitants, shall desire to stay, they may, with the like Advantage, and one Priest.

‘ That

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That if any Ships shall happen to be at *Buffin*, at the time of the Surrender, they shall have free liberty to go out of that Harbour; and that the said Capt. *Michael Cormick*, and Captain *Dominick Brown*, may go to any place in the County of *Mayo*, where their Concerns are, and there remain, with their Corn, Goods and Stock as aforesaid.

Ninthly, That for the due perfecting of these Articles, Captain *Nicholas Blake* is immediately to repair to *Buffin*, to have them signed by Colonel *Royston* the Governor of that Place, and in eight Days to return with them so Signed: And for assurance of his return, he hath given Lieut. Col. *John Kelly*, and Capt. *Richard Martin*, as Security.

Tenthly, The Governor of *Galway* promises, that the General shall have these Articles and Capitulations ratified, after such manner, and within such time as the Articles of *Galway* shall be.

That for due performance of these Articles and Capitulations, the Governor of *Galway*, and the Governor of *Buffin*, have interchangeably Signed and Sealed them, the 19th Day of *August* 1691.

Signed and Sealed in the presence of

Tim. Royston.

Geo. Dunbar,
Anthony Tellett.

This and the Isle of *Arran* lie some Leagues to Sea from the Mouth of the Bay of *Galway*; in the former of which there is a strong Fort, with about a dozen Guns; in both which Islands there always have been Garisons kept.

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Nigh this time three of the Militia were killed in the Bog of *Allen* by *Mackabe's* Party ; and two days after four of the Rapparees were kill'd, and *Mackabe* himself narrowly escaped, with the loss of two more of his Men, himself being forced to strip and run cross the Bog. The Militia now were very active about the Bog of *Allen*, and killed five more at one time, and ten in a few days after ; amongst whom was the White Serjeant, which occasioned ten more of the Crew to come in and submit.

We had now an Account that our Fleet was at *Torbay*, and the French Fleet at *Brest* ; but that ours had Orders to put to Sea again in ten Days.

August the 25th, a thousand Militia Foot, under *Colonel Rorger Moore*, and five hundred Horse and Dragoons, with three Field-pieces, march'd from *Dublin* towards *Sligoe*, making, with Detachments from other Counties, in all five thousand Men, to be commanded by the Earl of *Granard*, to whose Conduct the reducing of that troublesome Fort was now committed.

And towards the latter end of *August*, some Rapparees stealing Cows nigh *Cork*, six of them were kill'd, and four executed ; two more were hanged at *Carlow* by *Sir Thomas Butler's* Orders, and one of *Mackabe's* Servants kill'd : and thus ended the Month of *August*.

September,
1691.

C H A P. VIII.

Our Bombs set the Town on fire. The Irish design a Salley, but are repulsed by my Lord Drogheda's Regiment. Brigadeer Leveson routs a Party of the Irish in Kerry. A Design to pass the River. A new large Battery made towards the King's Island. A Breach made. Some thoughts of storming it. Guns planted nigh St. Thomas's Island. The Cannon and Bombs play at the Cathedral; and why. Colonel Earl sent into England. Rejoicing in the Camp for the Defeat of the Turks. My Lord Lisburn killed. A Party ordered to pass the River by a Bridg of Boats. The Irish in a great Consternation. The Castle on the Weir taken. Debates whether the Siege should be continued, or turned into a Blockade. Orders in case of an Alarm. Some Guns shipp'd. Our Men pass the River a second time. The Attack at Thoumond Gate. Six hundred of the Enemy killed. A remarkable Paper found in the Pocket of a Colonel in the Irish Army. The Enemy beat a Parley. A Cessation agreed to. Hostages exchanged. The Irish Proposals, rejected by the General. Articles agreed to. The General's Letter to Sir Ralph Delaval, giving him an Account of the Cessation. A brief Account of what happened in other Parts of the Kingdom during this Month.

September the First, Col. Wooley, with a Party of 500 Horse and Dragoons went towards Killalow, it being reported that Sarsfield was moving that way, upon some secret Expedition, into our Quarters. All last

September, Night, and that Morning, our Bombs and Cannon plaid upon the Town, setting it on fire in some Places, which was no small trouble to those within to put it out. It was ordered that Afternoon, that most of our Guns and Mortars should be shipp'd again; and at Night Maj. Gen. *Tettan* commands in the Works. A little after our Guards were relieved, we understood the Irish designed a Salley; in order to which, a considerable Body of their Men advanced towards our Works, between *Nassau's* Fort, and the great Battery where the Earl of *Drogheda* with his Regiment was then upon Duty. His Lordship perceived the Irish were coming, and therefore ordered his Men not to fire till they should advance within Pistol-shot of us, and then to give them a whole Volley: But the Souldiers perceiving the others Approach, would not forbear to shoot amongst them, which was the reason that the Irish could not be perswaded to advance any further, though they had then a very good Opportunity, since there was but one Regiment at that time to defend above 300 Yards of the Works. We had one Man kill'd, and two wounded, and were in a small time reinforced by Col. *Venner's* Regiment, and a Party of Horse were sent down, to remain all Night as near the Works as they could conveniently. The Guns plaid, and Mortars also, for some part of the Night; but the General saw that our Batteries were too far off, and therefore new Measures were consulted on.

The Second in the Morning early, came an Express from Brigadeer *Leveson*, then at *Newmarket*, or thereabouts, to acquaint the General, that having intelligence on Monday in the Evening, where my Lord *Merion's* and my Lord *Britta's* Regiments of Horse lay; he march'd as privately as he could that way; and about one a Clock in the Morning he fell in with them, killing several, and dispersing

1691.
Our Bombs set
the Town on
fire.

The Irish in-
vaded a Salley,

But are repul-
sed by my Ld
Drogheda's Re-
giment.

Brigadeer Le-
veson routs a
Party of the
Irish.

dispersing the rest ; my Lord *Merion* himself escaping very narrowly. Then he divided his Party to pursue their broken Troops ; but they knowing the Countrey, made most of them a shift to escape. My Lord *Castle-connel* and his Lady were taken Prisoners, or rather came to the Brigadeer, having fared very indifferently in the Enemies Quarters all Summer. Major *Wood* being earnest in the Pursuit, broke his Leg by the fall of his Horse.

A Council of War was this day held, and also a Court Martial, whereof the Earl of *Drogheda* was President ; at which, amongst other things, a Woman was condemned for endeavouring to intice some of our French Soldiers into Town, whom she took to be Roman Catholicks. This Evening two great Mortars, 18 Inches and an half Diameter, that were brought from Ship-board, were mounted, and several Bombs thrown ; but they did not do the hoped-for Execution : which occasioned the drawing them and the Guns off from the Batteries, with a design to attempt something elsewhere, or, if it could be, to pass the River : which the Enemy having private notice of, they removed their Horse-Camp about two Miles to the North-East of *Limerick*, posting four Regiments of Dragoons to guard the *Shannon* below *Anigh-begg*, where they had three Regiments of Foot lay intrenched. The Cannon however had been so troublesome to the Inhabitants, that most of them left the Town, and encamp'd under Sheets and Blankets, with what else they could procure, nigh a Party of their Horse, where they and their Army wanted nothing so much as Salt. The General seeing the Enemies Camp removed, went to a convenient Place to view them.

The third, the Guns and Mortars put on board, were again unshipp'd, (upon new Measures being taken) and brought up to the Artillery-Ground. One of Col. *Nu-*

gent's

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September, gent's Dragoons deserted from the Enemy, leaving them
 1691. the Night before, and says that 17 Regiments of Horse
 and Dragoons belonging to their Army, were most of
 them at that time beyond the River, but neither well e-
 quipp'd nor clad, nor were the Regiments nigh full.

The 4th, Lieut. Col. Peck with the Princess *Ann's*
 Regiment, came to the Camp: and in the Evening a
 Party of 300 Horse and Dragoons were sent to reinforce
 Brigadeer *Leveson*: and some Reports there were that he
 was surrounded by the Enemy; upon which the General
 sent to him to return: but it proved only a Prey of Cows
 that the Enemy had taken from some of the Countrey-
 People, who had bought them from the Brigadeer's Par-
 ty at the Rout they gave the Irish. However, the Bri-
 gadeer had Orders afterwards to secure the County of
Kerry, and to endeavour the reducing the Enemies Ga-
 risons there, six Guns being ordered for that Service.
 For the Enemies keeping some small Garisons between
 our Camp and *Cork*, was a great Disadvantage to us in
 point of Provisions, which otherwise we might have
 expected Plenty of from that part of the Countrey.

The Duke of *Wyrtemberg* (as 'tis said) by the Advice of
 my Lord *Castle-connel*, who was come to our Camp, had
 now found out a Place for a new Battery, nigh the *King's*
Island, on the River-side, which was thought nearer the
 Town than the former, and from whence we could bat-
 ter the English Town more effectually. This Place in
 our publick Accounts was said to be within Carbine shot
 of the Wall, and yet it was at least 300 Yards from it.
 Nor was there any Convenience to raise a Battery any
 nearer against this part of the Town, by reason of the
 River to the Right, and a low Morass Ground on the
 Front. But some Disputes about this new Battery were
 raised before it self, though at last it was concluded on;

and

A new Battery
 contrived nigh
 the Kings Island

and several Regiments both of Horse and Foot were ordered to move towards the Right, as well for the security of our Battery, as to front the Irish Army who were gone that way before us. We were at work also very hard upon a Line of Contravallation, raising three or four new Forts between the old Church and the King's Island, to secure the remaining part of our Army, in case some of them should be commanded over the River.

September the 5th, in the Evening we began to work at our new Battery. At first the Enemy did not discover us; but after some time the Moon shining very bright, they found us out, and fired both great and small Shot very lavishly, killing five or six; but still the rest went on bravely with their Work, and had soon brought it into such a Condition as to secure themselves.

The 6th, one *Barnwell* deserted the Enemy, and tells us they seem resolved to defend the Town, which they might do, except we pass the River, having all the County of *Clare* open to go out and in at pleasure. Our Men work still at the Battery, which being designed for a great many Guns, it could not be finished in one Night, tho the Rain did us some Damage. This Night some Townsmen swam over the River, and confirm the Account given by *Barnwell* the day before, that the Irish resolve not to give us the Town except we pass the River, since they had a free Passage to bring in and take out what they pleased: and amongst other things, they had forty Chirurgions Chests that landed from *France* in *Kerry*, which were conveyed cross the River, and so into Town at *Thoumond* Gate. They informed us also that most of the Towns-people having left it, and the Souldiers lying continually in the Works, our Bombs did not do that Execution that was hoped for: but that upon whatever House a Bomb fell, the Irish Souldiers presently rushed

1691.

September, in and plundered it. And tho the Weather seemed to threaten us, yet this was no great Discouragement; since if it came to the worst, we had now our Ships in the River, and could at any time put our Guns on board, which Conveniency we wanted the Year before.

1691. The General had now an Account from Brigader *Leveson* out of *Kerry*, that the Enemy according to their usual way of destroying, had burnt *Tralee*; and that he had secured two of the Irish Captains that were active in that Affair: upon which he sent the following Answer.

Camp at Limerick, Sept. 6. 1691.

SIR,

Since my last to you I have received your Letter of the and notwithstanding what I writ about your returning to the Camp, I now desire you will stay with your Detachment in *Kerry* for the Safety of that Countrey, and secure your self there as well as you can. I have sent you the Princeſs of Denmark's Regiment, to be disposed of as you shall judg best. As for those two Captains that burnt *Tralee*, I would have them both hanged if they cannot produce Major General *Sarsfield's*, or the Orders of the Commander in Chief for what they did: and then I desire you'll respite their Execution till you send me a Particular of their Case.

To Brigader *Leveson*.

Bar. de *Ginckell*.

September the 7th, this Letter was sent the Brigader (then encamp'd at *Lixnaw*) by Capt. *William Fitz-Maurice*, of the Earl of *Drogheda's* Regiment, and Son to the Lord of *Kerry*, who this Morning left the Camp, with about twenty or thirty of that Country-Gentlemen in his Company, having also an Order for a Guard of Horse and Dragoons from *Asketon*. But next Day coming to *Listoell*, within five Miles of the Brigader's Party, one

of

of the Enemies Dragoons mistaking them for a Party of *September, 1691.*
their own Men, came hastily up and told them, he was at first afraid they had been English, but that my Lord *Merion's*, my Lord *Britta's*, Sir *Maurice Eustace*, Sir *James Cotter's* Dragoons, with a Body of between 3 and 4000 Irish, lay behind the Hill ; this Fellow they immediately shot for his pains, and sent to give the Brigader notice of their Danger, making all convenient haste towards *Lixnaw* : But the Enemy soon had notice of them, and drew out several Parties to intercept their Passage ; our Men however, with some difficulty, gained a Pals : and yet the Irish ordered the matter so, as to be in a fair way to destroy them all, had not the Brigader appeared with a Party in the mean time ; for having received an Account that the Irish were got into a Body in such a place, he was going then with a Party to discover them, not knowing the Danger our own Men were in. Upon the Brigader's approach, when our Men understood who it was, they gave a Huzzah : At which the Irish began to draw off ; and being in great Confusion, by reason of their eager haste to pursue our small Party, the Brigader fell upon them in that posture, and killed about thirty, taking Lieut. Col. *O Ryan*, and about thirty more Prisoners, the rest making too great haste to the Woods and Bogs to be overtaken. Our Party then went to the place where the Irish Camp had been, and found two Barrels of Powder, with a great deal of other Luggage, left behind.

At *Limerick* the Enemy fired very briskly upon us all that day, with eight Guns which they had planted in the King's Island, and other places : However we finished the Platform of the great Battery, and the flooring for the Mortars.

September, 1691. September the 8th, our new Batteries were all ready; one to the left of ten Field-pieces, to shoot red hot Ball; another to the right, of 25 Guns, all 24 and 18 Pounds; and in the Center were placed eight Mortars, from 18 Inches 3 quarters, to 10¹ Diameter: these stood altogether upon the North-east of the Town nigh the Island: then there were 8 Guns of 12 pound Ball each, planted at *Mackay's* Fort; and some also towards the River on the South-west, where the Danes were posted: Those fell to work all at a time, and put the Irish into such a fright, that a great many of them wish'd themselves in another place, having never heard such a Noise before, nor I hope never shall in that Kingdom. One of the great Mortars had a Shell burst in her, flinging the Mortar and Carriage nigh two yards from the flooring; which is demonstration, that the firing the Fuse before you give fire to the Mortar, is neither the readiest nor the safest way; but this was the method of all our Foreign Bombardeers: tho one Lieut. *Brown*, afterwards at *Mackay's* Fort, made use of a much better way, as shall in time be related. We threw Bombs, Fire-balls and Carcasses all day long, and our Guns were discharged almost without ceasing; by which there appeared a considerable Breach in the Wall, within the King's Island, between the Abbey and *Ball's* Bridg; and our Bombs, Fire-balls and Carcasses, had the like success upon the Houses in Town.

A Breach made The 9th more Provision-Ships are ordered from *Cork*, under the *Smirna*-Merchant. We improved our Forts between the old Church and our great Battery; and our Guns fire all day at the Breach, by which it was widened to a great Degree, and also a great many Houses beat down: we dismounted also two Guns from a Spur in the King's Island nigh *Ball's*-Bridg, and play'd from *Mackay's* Fort upon

A Breach made

in the Wall

upon four Guns more that disturbed us, from a Place *September, 1691.* where their black Battery was the Year before. The Enemy had cast up a Blind to prevent our beating down *Balls-Bridg*, but as our Battery was planted, the Blind was ineffectual, though we did not mind the Bridg much on that Side. A great many Bombs and Carcasses were thrown into Town, which set it on fire; and we understood afterwards that several People were killed in the indeavouring to quench it. That Morning all the empty Casks in the Army were ordered to be taken up and carried to the Artillery, where they were to be made use of when there was occasion for Floats. The Enemy that Afternoon made a Pretence of sallying; and some of them came out to secure a Ditch not far from our Battery, but were soon repulsed, and several of them killed, with the Loss of one Granadeer on our Side. There was also a Work begun close to the River-Side, adjoining to the Island, but the Spring-Tide over-flow'd it next Day. Though several Wool-sacks were carried down in order to make an At-
Some thoughts of storming it.
tack upon the Island, and from thence upon the Breach; but this being found difficult, the Wool-sacks were left with a Sentinel upon them at Night; which the Irish perceiving, some of them came over the River in the Night in Cots, and burnt several of the Wool-sacks, the Sentinel looking on, and alledging for an Excuse, *That he had no Orders to fire.* The General gave Command to draw off the Guns from *Mackay's Fort*, to some more convenient Place: But Colonel *Wythers*, Adjutant General, informing him what Execution some that were planted there did in the Town the Year before, he ordered them to continue firing, which they did to very good purpose.

September,

1691.

Sept. 10. There was an Order for a Pinnace and its Crew to attend *Francis Burton* Esq; who made several Journeys into the County of *Clare*, and had so ordered the Matter, that *Clare-Castle* was to be delivered up to us, though for some Reasons the General neglected the Opportunity till it was included in the General Capitulation. In the Morning one Capt. *Dobbin*, a Quarter-master, and Serjeant, desert the Enemy, and told us, that the Bombs did great Execution in the Town, and had killed several: Our Guns fire very hard all that Day, and in the Evening a Bomb fell into a store of Wine, Brandy, Oats and Bisket, spoiling a great part of it. The Town was also set on fire in several Places, which burnt great part of the Night: And that Evening two Mortars were brought from on Board, and planted at *Mackay's* Fort, being managed by Lieutenant *Brown*, Lieutenant to Capt. *Pitts* Miners, who did more Execution than all the rest, firing three for one of theirs, and throwing the Bombs very exact; he neither made use of Sand upon the Bomb, nor fired the Fuse; but putting it into the Mortar with the Fuse down, the Flash of the Powder kindled the Fuse as it was discharged from the Mortar. Colonel *Wythers* was sent by Sea, and Robert *Powley* Esq; by Land, to hasten up our Fleet, which we understood was at *Cork*, the General having some Accounts that the French designed to relieve the Town.

On the 11th the Breach was widened at least forty Paces; and Floats being prepared, there were great Debates amongst the chief Officers whether it should be attempted by Storm, (tho most say it was only designed at first for the more conveniency of battering the Town;) Deserters telling us of a great Ditch without the Wall, always full of Water, and well pallisado'd, besides several Works within, which would have rendred the Attempt

Lieuten. *Brown*
our best Bom-
bardeer.

tempt very hazardous : but afterwards we found little *September, 1691.*
 Truth in this, though indeed we could not do the Enemy a greater Pleasure, nor our selves a greater Prejudice in all Probability, than in seeking to carry the Town by a Breach, before those within were more humbled, either by Sword or Sickness : for we understood certainly that they had as many Men within as we without ; besides the Hazard in getting into, or keeping the King's Island, where there stood a most excellent Fort with a double Line of Communication from thence to the Town, mann'd for the most part by the best of their Dragoons dismounted. Part of the Guns however were drawn off from *Ireton's* Fort to a new Battery, which was to the Right of the great one ; and some planted nigh *St. Thomas's* Island, to cut off the Irish Communication by a large Causey that led that way towards the Town. Five Deserters came off, who tell us of some Officers killed upon the Key by a Bomb ; that they had only two Tuns of Powder in Town, and that their Stores were a great part of them buried in Ruines. Some of *Sir Albert Cunningham's* Officers gave the General an Account from Lieutenant Colonel *Ecklin*, that *Sir Albert* was killed by a Party of the Irish at *Colloony*, nigh *Sligoe*, where they surprized him in the Morning early, most of his Dragoons shifting for themselves ; and *Balderock O Donnel*, who then had joined him, very hardly making his Escape : But the English Pacquets brought us better News of the Turkish Army's being defeated in *Hungary*, and a great many Thousands slain.

The 12th most of our Guns and Bombs are directed towards the great Church in the midst of the English Town, because we understood that it was made their principal Store ; and four Deserters tell us what great Damage was already done in all Places of the Town.

*Guns planted
near St. Thomas's Island.*

*The Cannon
and Bombs fire
at the Cath-
edral.*

But

September, But the Irish continuing obstinate, and the indeavouring to reduce the Town by Force with such a little Army as we had seeming dangerous, considering the very great Strength of their Works which were still intire, though the Town was much shattered; those and other Reasons were like to render it a Work of longer time than at first we hoped for, and the Winter now drawing on apace; therefore Orders were given to fit up Killmallock for a Place of Stores. And,

Col. Earl sent into England.

On the 13th the General sent Colonel Earl into England, to acquaint her Majesty with the present Circumstances of Affairs; that if we should not take the Town this Season, it would be absolutely necessary to send more Frigats, in order to block up the River *Shannon*, since Capt. *Cole* that commanded, and other Marine Officers then in the River, had given it under their Hands, that they could post twenty Frigats so advantageously towards the Mouth of the River, under some Islands, that they should be able to live all Winter, and keep off twice the Number, if any Attempt should be made by the French towards the Relief of the Town; and that in the mean time the Army was to make as nigh a Blockade as they could. This was but melancholy News to both Officers and Souldiers, who were all willing to undergo any Hardships rather than go away without being Masters of the Place.

The 14th some Dragoons with an Officer desert the Enemy; a Sergeant of theirs gave us notice where their Ammunition lay, and our Guns fire very hard all Day at the Place, the General and all the great Officers continuing the whole Afternoon at the Battery, and were very well pleased to see a Bomb blow up some part of their Powder. At Night our Works were double man'd, and our great Guns beginning to the right, the whole

whole Line made three running Fires, which were seconded by as many from several Regiments both of Horse and Foot, drawn up at the Heads of their respective Camps: this was for Joy of the Christians Success in *Hungary* against the Turks; but it alarm'd the Irish, who stood at their Arms all the Night, being much puzzled to know the meaning of it; some saying that our Fleet had beat the French; and others, that it was only for a Blind at our going off; and every one as they fancied. Orders were now given for the demolishing *Castle-connel*, *Carick a Gunnell*, and other Places upon the *Shannon*; and several Miners were at work upon them.

The fifteenth, the *Finnan* Regiment of *Green Danes* march towards *Clonmell*, in order to go to *Waterford*; and most of our Guns were drawn off from the Batteries as a Blind, to a Design at Night; being a great many Men at work all day to prepare our Tin-boats and Floats. That Afternoon my Lord *Lisburn* then upon Duty with his Regiment, to the Left of the Great Battery, his Lordship having laid down to rest him in a little Trench-Tent, just in the rising up was unfortunately shot by a great Gun from one of the Enemies Batteries; being a Man of excellent Parts, and who had shewed himself very diligent and forward upon all Occasions, since the beginning of this War.

In the Evening it was ordered that four hundred *Grenadiers*, so soon as 'twas dark, should parade at the Head of Major General *Kirk's* Regiment, from whence they marched about nine at Night, being joined with six hundred Workmen, with the Tin-boats, and sustainted with five Regiments of Foot commanded by Major General *Talmaſb*, and a Body of Horse and Dragoons under Major General *Scravemore*, with six Field-pieces. Those all march to a Place of the *Shannon* about two Miles above

September,
1691.
Guns fired for
Joy the Turks
were defeated
in *Hungary*.

My Lord Lis-
burn killed.

A Party order-
ed to march over the River.

our

September, 1691. our Camp, and by twelve at Night begin to lay the Boats over. In the mean time the Granadeers commanded by Sir *David Collier*, with Capt. *Ketchmay* of Sir *John Hanmer's*, Captain *Alnut* of my Lord *Drogheda's*, Captain *Parker* of Colonel *Gustavus Hamilton's* Regiment, another Captain, and eight more Officers, were wafted over by the Tin-boats into an Island where the Bridg was laying, and from whence it was fordable to the other side, beating some few Straglers of the Enemy from thence, who now and then fired at the Workmen, but with little or no Loss to us; for the Night being very dark, and the Enemy secure, because they judged us going off, the Bridg was almost compleated before they suspected it.

A Bridg laid, and our Men pass over it. The 16th at Day-light our Bridg was finished; and Colonel *Matthew's* Dragoons beginning to pass into the Island: by which time Brigadeer *Clifford* had got the Alarm, who was not far off with four Regiments of Dragoons; he seemed not very forward in the Matter, tho his Dragoons came down on foot, and pretended to make some Opposition, as did also a Body of the Enemies Foot, being about four or five thin Regiments, who advanced towards the Ford, when Major General *Talmash* immediately commanded the Granadeers to wade thro: which done, they possess'd themselves of an old House, and an Hedg or two, about an hundred Yards from the Enemy; and were commanded not to be lavish of their Shot, but receive the Enemies Fire till our Dragoons and some Horse were got over, which were passing. Then the Enemy endeavouring to flank our Granadeers on the Right, the Major General commanded a Detachment of Colonel *Matthew's* Dragoons to beat them from that Post: which being done, and a good Party soon got over, Major General *Talmash* ordered the Granadeers

nadeers to advance, being sustained by a Regiment of *September, 1691.* Foot commanded by Colonel *Tiffin* and Lieutenant Colonel *Bristow*, a Party of Dragoons, and a Party of Colonel *Coys*'s Horse. This was done; and after some faint Resistance the Enemy run towards a large Bog, and a Wood that was in their Rear, throwing away their Grenadoes, Muskets, and every thing that proved troublesome: our Men pursued them, and killed several upon the Bog, taking a French Lieutenant Colonel, a Captain and some more Prisoners. Our advance-Party received Orders to halt till all were got over, and then march'd to the Left up towards the Enemies Camp. But by this time the News of our passing the River was got to their Horse, and also towards the Town, both Parties providing for their Safeties as well as they could: for the People that were encamp'd without, endeavoured to get into Town; but those within drew up the Bridg, and would not admit them; and it's almost incredible what a Noise and Confusion there was then at *Thoumond Gate*: their Horse tho begin to buckle to Arms, and made a shew of fighting, which was only to gain time to secure their Tents and Baggage; and their Dragoons having their Horses two Miles off at *Gras*, were forced to shift for themselves. Our Horse expected Orders to pursue them; but they were commanded by the General and Lieut. Gen. *Scravemore*, who were now come up, to halt till a greater Body advanced to sustain them. Some of the Irish were now pulling down their Tents, others driving away the Cattle, and every one in a Hurry making what haste they could towards the Mountains; and then the General ordered our Men to advance towards their Horse-Camp, where they found Brandy, Beef, and a great many other things: And a Party of our Granadeers met with about three hundred

The Irish in a
great Conquer-
nation.

September, 1691. Dragoon Saddles and other Accoutrements, which they burnt by Order. We did not pursue however for fear of an Ambuscade, but sent to observe the Enemies March. The Irish also nigh the Town were very busy in breaking down two small Bridges cross a Causey, leading to the Town; but the firing of two of our Field-pieces put a stop to their Proceedings in that Place. There is a small white House about half a Mile from the Town on *Thoumond* side, nigh which two Squadrons of the Enemies Horse were drawn up, and about a Regiment of Foot posted in the Hedges, to secure their Lords Justices, the Records, all their chief Ladies and Treasure, which all were there, and had been as then no difficult, though a very good Prize. But after some of our Parties had seen them go off in the greatest Confusion that could be, we set two or three Houses on fire: and staying on that side till about two a Clock in the Afternoon, we had Orders to return, leaving a Guard in a Fort newly cast up on the other side, to secure our Bridg; wheras it's not improbable, had we pursued our good Fortune, the Irish Horse had been routed, and the Town deliver'd upon our own Terms.

The Irish had still a small Garifon in *S. Thomas's* Island, which now submitted, where we got two pretty small Brass Field-pieces. There was also an Ensign with twenty Men in a Castle, in the midst of the River, a little below the Island, who were made Prisoners: This is called the *Wier* Castle, because it stands on a *Salmon Wier*. In the former Wars the Irish had a Garison here also, who deserting the Place, betook themselves to the River: but being shot at, part of them came on shoar towards the West, who had Quarter promised them by a Captain in Colonel *Tuthill's* Regiment, and yet were stripp'd and killed by the Colonel's Orders, who was tried

The Castle on the Wier taken.

tried and cashiered for it ; but the rest coming a-shore ^{September} 1691. on the East, where Colonel *Inglesby* was, had better Treatment, and sent to the Town, *Ircton* being very angry at the others Breach of Faith.

We had only one Serjeant killed in all this Day's Adventure, and about twenty Men wounded, and the Enemy lost not above fifteen or twenty at most. One Capt. *Taaf* in the Irish Royal Regiment deserts, and says the Besieged had not above ten Days Bread, and that our Bombs had destroyed a great part of their Ammunition. And that nothing might be left unattempted, to shew their Majesties Clemency, the Government's Lenity, and the General's generous Compassion towards the Irish, he orders the following Declaration to be sent them.

By Lieutenant General *Ginckell*, Commander in Chief of their Majesties Forces.

“ *A*lthough their Majesties have already been more gracious than could be expected, or the Behaviour of the Irish has deserved, yet to leave no means untried that may bring them to a Sense of their Interest and Duty, and this Kingdom to that quiet and settled Condition it formerly enjoyed, they have been pleased to impower me to assure the Enemies Army, and the Garrison and Inhabitants of *Limerick*, that if within eight Days from the Date hereof, they shall surrender and submit themselves to their Majesties Obedience, they shall have that Pardon of their Offences, Restitution of their Estates, and Reward of their Services, and all the Benefits promised by the Lords Justices in their Proclamation of the 7th of

September, " July last, from which they are not debarred by any
 1691. " Act of Parliament, as they are falsely made to believe
 " by some Persons who live by sacrificing their Coun-
 " try to the Tyranny and Ambition of France, and
 " ought for that reason to be excluded from Mercy by
 " both Sides: But if they shall still continue obstinate,
 " and neglect to lay hold on this Favour, which is the
 " last that will be offered them, they must be answerable
 " for the Blood and Destruction they draw upon them-
 " selves; for I hereby acquit my self before God and the
 " World, and wash my Hands of it. Given at the
 " Camp before Limerick this 16th Day of Septem-
 " ber, 1691.

Disputed whe-
 ther the Siege
 continued, or
 a Blockade.

On the 17th a Council of War was held, wherein it was hotly disputed, whether we should go on with the Siege, or march over the River and destroy all the Enemies Forage in the County of *Clare*, and then make a Blockade; and it was so far carried for the latter, that an Engineer was ordered to go with a Guard towards *Killmallock*, and fortify that Place: but before he got out of the Camp he was countermanded, and a great many Pallisado's were brought up to *Mackay's* Fort, as if we intended to winter there: three hundred Cars with Bullets, Bombs, and other Necessaries come to the Camp from *Dublin*, and our Guns play still from the great Battery. Eleven of the Enemies Troopers desert, and a Standard was brought in that was taken the Day before; and my Lord *Lisburn's* Corps were sent hence towards *Dublin*, there to be interred. Our Bridg of Boats was this Evening removed towards *St. Thomas's* Island, but being too short, it was carried to another Place, where it had also the same Inconveniency.

The 18th, Orders were sent to the Men of War and other Vessels in the River, to set some Men on Shoar in the County of **Clare**, to destroy all the Forage they could meet with, since this was the time of Harvest ; and if we must needs remove, the General was resolved to make the Irish Quarters as bare as possible ; and several of our heavy Cannon were put on Ship-board.

September,
1691.

The 19th it being resolved to pass the River with a Party, either to prosecute the Seige, or at least to burn the Forage ; a Battery was raised between **Iretton's** Fort and the old **Church**, to flank the Irish in Case of a Sally from **St. John's** Gate, it being reasonable to expect one when part of our Army once pass'd the River : and now our People were very busy in lengthning our Bridg, which they found some Difficulty in fixing, because the the Rains had swelled the River, and we had not Boats enough to reach over ; but that Defect was supplied by some large Carts and Barrels that were industriously fixed next the Sides, and so the Work was compleated, a Guard being always on the other Side for its Security ; and my Lord **Lisburn's** and Colonel **Creighton's** Foot were encamp'd by it on our side. This Afternoon four Mortars were brought from the great Battery to **Mackay's** Fort, that Place being judged the fittest for bombarding, since the whole Town lay in a Line from thence. Three Rapparees were also brought in by the Militia, and accused for murdering several of our Men as they straggled from the Camp to dig Potatoes ; one of them produced a Pass, as being of my Lord **Gallmoy's** Regiment of Horse : but this was an usual shift, for in a Day or two there being evident Proof against them, they were condemned by a Court-Martial ; the General gave Orders that they should be broke upon the Wheel ; but being told that this way of Torture was against the Laws of

Eng-

September, England, they were first hanged, and then their Quarters dispersed and hung upon the Hedges, on the adjacent High-ways to the Camp. That Evening the General was informed that the Enemy resolved to make a Sally, and therefore most of our Horse and Dragoons were ordered to remain saddled all Night: And in case of an Alarm, the Commander in chief where it should be given, was immediately to acquaint the General with it; upon which three Guns were to be fired from the Artillery, to warn the Regiments: those on the left were to defend the left Trench, *Kirk's, Earl's, and Hale's* were to defend from the Place my Lord *Lisburn* was killed to the great Battery; the other five Regiments of that Brigade were to defend from *Mackay's* Fort to the Well; and those Regiments of the Prince of *Hesse*, and *La Mello-ner's* Brigades were to draw up at the Head of their respective Camps, and there remain till further Orders: so that our Army being disposed of on this manner, the Irish would have met with a very scurvy Welcome, if they had come at any time to visit us, but they considered better of it, and so staid at home.

Some of our Guns shipp'd. The 20th most of the rest of our heavy Canon were drawn off, and sent on Shipboard: Several Deserters come in, and some of our Prisoners make their Escape through a Hole in the Goal, which our Cannon had made, and inform the General of the State of the Town, that it was not so very bad as some People made it, for unless we kept them in also on the other Side, we could not hope to carry it, which Story had been very often told.

On the 21st the General received an Express with an Account of *Sligoe's* being surrendred to the Earl of *Granard*; and it being fully agreed to pass the River next Day, and a probable Consequence of that being that the

Orders in case of an Alarm.

the Irish must needs then or never endeavour to attempt the forcing of our Works on this side, when they saw our Army divide ; therefore it was ordered, that in case of an Alarm, there should be a Signal given, which was by the lighting of a Torch upon a Pike at *Mackay's* Fort ; the Charge of which was committed to the Officer of the Quarter-Guard, and he ordered to be very vigilant ; the Regiments being disposed of for Defence as before. The Quartermasters were also ordered to be at Major General *Tetteau's* by break of Day. And therefore,

September the 22d, the General himself, the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, Lieutenant General *Scravemore*, with all our Horse and Dragoons commanded by Major General *Ruvigny*, (except Colonel *Coys*'s Horse, and fifty out of each Regiment of Dragoons) with ten Regiments of Foot, (and fourteen Guns, *viz.* ten 3 Pounders, and four 12 Pounders) taking also seven Days Provision along, march'd over our Bridg of Boats into the County of *Clare*, leaving Major General *Mackay* and Major General *Talmaſſ* to command on this side. All that Morning as our Horse and Foot march'd by this side of the Town, the Enemy fired continually upon us from several Batteries, but did us no great Injury. At twelve a Clock all our Men had passed the River ; and about two, eighteen of Colonel *Matthews*'s Dragoons, being our advance-Party, were attack'd by a Party of the Enemy, who out-numbered ours, and obliged us to retreat, till sustained by a greater Party, as was also the Enemy : and some small Firings contintued till about four, that our Foot came up, we advancing still, and the Enemy retiring till they were got under their Cannon. Then all the Granadeers of our Party, commanded by Colonel *Tiffin*, Lieutenant Colonel *Hudson*, and Major *Noble*, sustained by

September,
1691.



September, by Kirk's, Tiffin's, St. John's, and my Lord George Ha-
 milton's Regiments, were commanded to advance and
 attack the Works that cover Thoumond Bridg, being one
 Fort to the Right above Musket-shot from the Bridg,
 another on the Left somewhat nearer; besides several na-
 tural Fortifications of Stone-quarries and Gravel-pits, in
 all which the Enemy had posted a Detachment out of
 eighteen Regiments, of about eight hundred Men. The
 Dispute was pretty hot at first: and their Cannon play-
 ing from the King's Castle, and two or three more Bat-
 teries, as also their small Shot from the Walls, the At-
 tack seemed very hazardous, and our Men ordered not
 to approach so nigh the Town as they afterwards did.
 However, the Irish being now pressed upon by our Gra-
 nadeers, they quitted their first Posts, and then were rein-
 forced by another Detachment from the Town: but all
 this could not do their busines, for our Granadeers were
 so very forward, and despised all Dangers to that de-
 gree, that they put the whole Body to flight in despight
 of their Forts, Cannon, and all other Advantages, and
 pursued them so close, that a French Major who com-
 manded at Thoumond Gate, fearing our Mens entring the
 Town with their own, he ordered the Draw-bridg to
 be pluck'd up, and left the whole Party to the Mercy
 of our Souldiers; those that were behind, pressing the
 others forward, and throwing them down over the Fall
 of the Draw-bridg: then the rest cried out for Quarter,
 holding up their Handkerchiefs, and what else they
 could get: but before killing was over, they were laid
 on Heaps upon the Bridg higher than the Ledges of it;
 so that they were all either killed or taken, except about
 a hundred and twenty that got into Town before the
 Bridg was drawn up, and many of those cut and slash'd
 to the purpose. The number of the Dead is said to be
 600 of the Enemy killed.

six hundred, amongst whom we may reckon one hundred fifty four that were drowned in being forced over the Fall of the Draw-bridg, and reckoned afterwards cast up upon the Shore. The Prisoners were Colonel *James Skelton*, (who died afterwards of his Wounds) Lieutenant Colonel *Edmond Hurley*, Lieutenant Colonel *Francis Dempsey*, Major *Matthew French*, *John Nelvil* Aid-Major of *Limerick*, besides nine Captains, seven Lieutenants, six Serjeants, and ninety seven private Men; all whose Names I have, but they are not worth the while of writing down, or reading afterwards. We took also five Colours; and, as some say, three small brass Guns that were with a Party of their Horse. And we lost in this Action Lieutenant *Starlin*, with twenty five private Men, and had about threescore wounded.

One thing here remarkable is, that Colonel *Skelton's* A remarkable
Paper. Pockets being search'd when he was taken Prisoner, the following Paper was found amongst other things: The Paper it self I have, and will not be answerable either for the Orthography or Sense; however take an exact Copy of it. And first, something like the fashion of a Spear's Head, or a Wound as he calls it, being lovenly drawn upon Paper, the following Words were writ about it.

This is the Measure of the Wounds of the Side of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was brought from Constantinople to the Emperor Charmaine in a Coffin of Goule, and is a most precious Relique, to the end that he or she that carried the same about him, no Fire nor Water, no Wind, Tempest, Knaife, Launce or Sword, nor the Divil cannot hurt him; and the Woman with Child the day she seeth the same Measure, shall not dey a sudden Death, but shall

September, be delivered by—— and if any Man carre the same about
 1691. him with good Devotion, shall have the Honor and Victo-
 rey of his Enimy. The day that any doth read the sam, or
 heard it read, shall not dey an evil Death. Amen.

Animis scriptoris in manu Saluatoris.

I have more Charity for any in Colonel Skelton's Post, than to believe that he could write this Paper himself; for whoever did, understood neither English nor Latin, nor yet Common Sense. I therefore believe it the Hand-writing of some poor ignorant Irish Priest, and kept by Colonel Skelton either out of Ridicule, or possibly out of some Religious Design; since I have heard that they had a great many of those Papers printed and kept amongst them with a great deal of Devotion: and if we'll look amongst them, we may find a great many Instances of the like nature, and altogether as great Absurdities; for Colonel Skelton was no Irishman, nor could he well be fond of the Fopperies of that Nation. In the former Wars we have several Relations of such like Religious Papers found upon the Irish, with a great many Charms, and other such like Stuff; particularly at the Battel of Knocknaclashy, the last of that Rebellion, and parallel to this in several Circumstances: for amongst other Charms taken at that time, this one is remarkable, *viz.* *This is the Print of our Lady's Foot; and whoever wears it, and says twenty Ave Maries, shall be free from Gunshot.* Cox, p. 68.

But this Digression I'm afraid is scarce pardonable; and therefore when our Men had lodged themselves within ten Yards of the Bridg, (notwithstanding an high Tower that stood near that End of the Bridg next to them) the

the Irish being then cut off from all Communication with their Horse, and despairing of Succours from France, they began soon to think upon giving up the Town : but it must needs be thought very unaccountable, that when they saw our Forces divide, and part of them indeavouring to approach the Town on their Side, they should not then have brought all their Army together, and given us Battel, rather than suffer the Town to be surrounded : nor could they have been so pinn'd up in the Town by us if they really had been beat, but that their Horse and Dragoons might have fought their way out again at some time when we had not been at our Arms ; for there was no Forage left nigh the Town, and our Horse could no more stay long near it, than theirs within it. But it's probable e're this time that they were grown jealous of one another, and a great many of them weary of the War it self ; and it's as probable that if their Horse and Dragoons, after a brisk Trial of Skill, had been forced towards the Town, they had been served the same sauce by the French Major as their Foot were ; and therefore they were wiser, and kept at a good Distance, beyond *Six-mile-Bridg*, and nigh *Ennis*, towards whom the General sent a Party of our Horse.

Next Day, being Wednesday the 23d, one hundred Cattle taken from the Enemy the Day before, and six hundred more sent out of the County of *Kerry* by Brigadier *Leveson*, were divided amongst the Army. And though the Day proved very rainy, yet our Guns and some Mortars ceased not to play upon the Town, nor the Enemy to fire more furiously than they had done for some time before. One Lieutenant Colonel *Corbet* came off from the Enemy, and proposed to the General the bringing over my Lord *Tyrconnel's* and *Galmoy's* Regiments of Horse, and out of those two to make one good

September, Regiment to serve their Majesties in *Flanders*, provided he might have the Command of them. Towards Night the Rain begun to cease, and both Storms were ended together, for about six a Clock the Enemy beat a Party on both Sides the Town; one Colonel *Ruth* coming towards *Mackay's* Fort, where the Earl of *Drogheda*'s Regiment then were upon Duty: But Major General *Tal-mash* shortly after coming that way, and being acquainted with it, he referred the Matter to Lieutenant General *Scravemore*, and the Marques *Ruvigny*. The General being then beyond the River, Major General *Waughup*, or Lieutenant General *Sarsfield* went out to him, and a Cessation was concluded for that Night.

The Enemy
beat a Party.

The 24th in the Morning, Lieutenant General *Sarsfield* and Major General *Waughup* came out to the General, and desired it might be continued for three Days longer, till they could send to their Horse, who then were encamp'd towards *Clare*, in order to their being included in the general Capitulation which they then proposed, and the Request was granted. The Enemy had now in Town two hundred forty and odd Prisoners of our Army and Militia, that had been taken in the County of *Cork*, and other Places, who remained there all the Siege, and were pretty well look'd after whilst the Protestants had leave to stay, who were inexpressibly kind to them; but no sooner were they turn'd out of Town, but the poor Prisoners were in a miserable Condition, being expos'd to the Fury of our own Guns and Mortars, and about thirty of them killed during the Siege. This Afternoon those alive were brought out to us, and delivered between *Mackay's* Fort and the Town, many of them in a miserable Condition; those of them that were not able to walk, were brought out upon poor lean Garrons; and some died upon the Spot where

where they were set down, being weak, and unacquainted with the open Air: Nay so barbarous had the Irish been in this Particular, that they had not so much as ordered the Wounds of some of our Men to be dressed that they had got in Prison by our own Guns; but after several Days keeping them in that Misery, they brought them out, and made us all Witnesses of their Barbarity: I give one Instance of a Dragoon in Colonel *Matthews*'s Regiment, who had his Hand shattered to Pieces, and being never dress'd, he died within an Hour after his bringing out. The same Day we had an Account that *Galloping Hogan*, a Fellow that had got upwards of one hundred Rapparees together, Horse and Foot, and got much Plunder by robbing the Sutlers and other People, that came into his Power; he was now so bold as to set upon a Party of Carrs coming towards the Camp with little or no Guard, nigh *Cullen*, and took away with him seventy one small Horses, though he durst not stay to do any further Mischief.

The 25th Lieutenant General *Sheldon*, the Lords *Galmoy*, *Westmeath*, *Dillon* and *Trimblestowne*, *Mack Guire* the Titular Primate, the Titular Archbishop of *Cashell*, Sir *Theobald Butler*, and several more of the Irish Officers, came from their Horse Camp; and dining with the General, they went afterwards into Town in a Boat rowed by French Seamen, (there being then three Vessels drawn up within the Key, and one of them sunk a-cross it, to prevent our coming up the River in the Night by way of Surprize;) as they rid by the End of the Bridg towards the Boat, a Party of their own Men were burying the Dead killed in the last Action; they stopp'd and enquired for several People, whom they there found dead: and the Cessation was continued till next Day at ten a Clock.

The

Their great
Officers come
from the Horse
Camp to con-
sult with the
rest in Town.

September, 1691. The 26th, Sarsfield and Waughup dined with the General, and it was agreed that Hostages should be exchanged in order to a further Treaty. Accordingly in the Afternoon, my Lord Cutts, Sir David Collier, Colonel Tiffin, and Colonel Piper, were sent into the Town, for whom were sent out the Lords Westmeath, Iveagh, Trimblestowne and Louth.

The 27th the Irish sent out their Proposals, which were;

The Irish Proposals.

- “ 1st. That their Majesties will by an Act of Indemnity pardon all past Crimes and Offences whatsoever.
- “ 2dly. To restore all Irish Catholicks to the Estates, of which they were seized or possessed before the late Revolution.
- “ 3dly. To allow a free Liberty of Worship, and one Priest to each Parish, as well in Towns and Cities, as in the Country.
- “ 4thly. Irish Catholicks to be capable of bearing Employments, Military and Civil, and to exercise Professions, Trades, Callings, of what Nature soever.
- “ 5thly. The Irish Army to be kept on Foot, paid, &c. as the rest of their Majesties Forces, in case they be willing to serve their Majesties against France, or any other Enemy.
- “ 6thly. The Irish Catholicks to be allowed to live in Towns Corporate and Cities, to be Members of Corporations, to exercise all sorts and manners of Trades, and to be equal with their Fellow-Protestant Subjects in all Privileges, Advantages and Immunities accruing in or by the said Corporations.
- “ 7thly. An Act of Parliament to be past for ratifying and confirming the said Conditions.

These Propositions were very unreasonable, and they ^{September,} say mightily insisted upon by *Mack Guire* and others of the Priesthood: this Man I'm told was Chaplain to the Spanish Ambassador at *Rome*, when *Plunket* the Titular Primate was hanged about the Popish Plot in *Ireland*; and few People daring to assume that Title at such a Juncture, the Ambassador procured it from the Pope for him. When those Proposals were brought out to the General, he was so far from granting them, that he returned Answer, *Though he was in a manner a Stranger to the Laws of England, yet he understood that those things they insisted upon were so far contradictory to them, and dishonourable to himself, that he would not grant any such Terms*; and so returned them, ordering a new Battery to be immediately raised to the left of *Mackay's* Fort, for Mortars and Guns. Then the Irish sent again to know what Terms his Excellency would please to propose to them, who after a Consultation, sent them in twelve Articles, much the same in Substance with those afterwards agreed upon, and said he would allow of no other: He sent them however all the Prisoners that we had of theirs in the Camp, in Requital of ours that were released before, their wounded Prisoners having always the same Conveniences with our own Men.

Rejected by
the General,
and new Bat-
teries ordered
to be raised.

The 28th early in the Morning, *Sarsfield*, *Waughup*, ^{Articles a-} the Titular Primate, Baron *Purcell* of *Loughmoe*, Arch-Bishop of *Cashell*, Sir *Garret Dillon*, Sir *Theobald Butler*, and Colonel *Brown*, the three last Counsellors at Law, with several other Officers and Commissioners, came to the General's Quarters, whither he sent for all our General Officers; and after a long Debate, Articles were agreed on, not only for the Town of *Limerick*, but for all the other Forts and Castles in the King.

September, Kingdom, then in the Enemies Possession, as *Ross*,
 1691. *Clare*, &c.

The same Afternoon an Order was sign'd for part of the Transport Ships to sail from *Cork* to the *Shannon*, and there to take on Board some of the Irish Forces: The following Letter was also sent by the General to Sir *Ralph Delaval*, who he understood was upon the Coast with a Squadron of English Men of War.

Camp before Limerick, Septemb. 28. 1691.

SIR,

The General's
Letter to Sir
Ralph Delaval.

I Have notice from my Lord *Nottingham*, that you were to come with the Squadron under your Command into these Seas; which makes me send this to acquaint you, that I have entred into a Treaty with the City of Limerick, and the Irish Army, which is now just come to a Conclusion. In the mean time we have a Cessation of Arms at Land, and have agreed there shall be one too at Sea, upon the Coasts of this Kingdom, since several of the Irish Army are to be transported, and to make use of French as well as English Ships for that Purpose: and therefore I must desire you will not hinder the Transport Ships of France from coming into the *Shannon*, nor the rest of their Fleet into *Dingle Bay*. The French Intendant here has written his Part to the Squadron of their Men of War that is expected, and gives Assurance that no Hostility will be committed by them: and you will please to observe the same on your Side,

Side, which is very necessary for their Majesties Service, and the speedy finishing the Affair we have in hand; to which I am sure you will contribute what you may, as well as,

SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

Bar. de GINCKELL.

The 29th all our Horse and Dragoons commanded by the Marquess *Ruvigny* go to encamp beyond *Six-mile-Bridg*, for the Conveniency of Forage, and a friendly Correspondence begun between the Irish and us, several of our Army going into Town, and others of them coming into our Camp.

The 30th most of the Irish General Officers dined with the Duke of *Wirtembergh*; nothing further being to be done till the Arrival of the Lords Justices, who were sent for to confirm the Articles according to Agreement: And by this time the Irish Souldiers and ours were also pretty well acquainted, they coming into our Camp, and our Men being admitted to view all their Works, where we will leave them, asking strange Questions one at another, and look back a little upon the Actions that hapned in other Parts of the Kingdom during this Month.

For whilst the Army was busied in the Field against the main Strength of the Irish, the Government was not wanting to order the Militia in several Parts of this Kingdom, to suppress the skulking Tories, and

A brief Account of what hapned in other Places of the Kingdom this Month.

September, other mischievous Persons, who laid hold on all Occasions to do Mischief.

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On the 5th of September a Party of Rapparees near Tallough, rob some Carriages belonging to the Officers in the Princess Ann's Regiment, and got away into the Woods. The Militia kill three Rapparees near Capperquin, and four more nigh Lismore.

The 6th, our Barbadoes Fleet came into Kinsale under Convoy of the Princess Ann, and the Bristol Frigats; and the same Day the St. Albans and Soldadoe brought 7 French Prizes into Cork. The Militia of Dublin, and eight hundred more from the North, being joined by Balderock O Donnel, with about twelve hundred Irish, were at Abby Boyle the 9th of September, on their March to Sligoe; and on their way they summon'd Loughlin, commanded by Colonel Theobald Dillon; and another Place commanded by Colonel Charles Kelly, both strong Castles, and garison'd by the Irish, which surrendred: and then the Earl of Granard, Commander in chief, sent to summon Ballymott, which refusing to surrender, Balderock with a thousand Men was ordered to attack it. This Place they say is very strong, and at that time commanded by one of the O Connors, who upon Sight of the Artillery surrendred upon Condition, to march with his Party and Baggage towards Sligoe.

This done, my Lord Granard marches to Sligoe, having Advice that Colonel Mitchelburn's Regiment, and some of the Militia under Lieutenant Colonel Caulfield, had forced old Sir Teague and his Crew from several Out-works and Ditches, and obliged them to retire into the Fort. The Earl of Granard and his Party were hard put to it in their March thither over the Curlew Mountains; for their Draught-Horses being none of the best, and

and several of them tiring, the Men themselves were forced to draw the Cannon, and that for several Miles, which they performed very chearfully. That Afternoon the Enemy beat a Parley ; but we found it was only to gain Time : and therefore in the Evening we began to fire with great and small Shot, and so continued most part of the Night without any further Loss on our Side, but of an Ensign who had his Head shot off with a great Shot. But the Enemy seeing a great many Carriages with my Lord *Granard's* Party, they were perswaded that they had brought heavy Cannon, with Mortars, Bombs, Carcasses, &c. So that they beat another Parley, and after some time they consented to surrender the Town upon the Articles that were agreed to on the 6th of *August*, viz. ' Their Party to march to *Limerick* with ' Arms and Baggage; and that all the little Garisons thereabouts in the Hands of the Irish, should have the Benefit of the Capitulation.

The Fort was surrendred on the sixteenth, being made of Turf, and having in it six hundred Men and sixteen Guns ; and Colonel *Mitchelburn* was left Gouvernour. In former times the Castle of *Sligoe* was a good Fortification, being built by *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* Lord Justice, in the Year 1242.

September the 17th, the *Dublin* Militia return Conquerors home again, having not lost one Man in their whole March : and those of the North march towards *Ballynewton* and *Castle-burk*, to have them surrendred according to the Articles of *Sligoe*; many Robberies and Murders being committed in that Countrey, particularly on Dr. *Brooks* an eminent Physician, and three more, the Rapparees first wounding them in several Places, and then for security cutting their Throats.

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*Sligoe surren-
dered to my
Ld Granard.*

September, September the 12th, the Irish take a good Prey near ^{1691.} Tallough; and the Militia to be even with them, take another Prey, and kill one of my Lord Merion's Troopers, with two Rapparees. Captain *Orfeur* of Colonel *Hastings*'s Regiment, going out with a Party of the said Regiment, and some of the Militia, he killed twenty of the Rapparees near *Lismore*, which so terrified the rest, that the Countrey thereabouts was pretty quiet for some time..

On the 12th of *August* *John Mackabe*, the notorious Rapparee, who so much infested the Bog of *Allen*, was brought with four of his Companions, by Lieutenant *Sheilds* and Lieutenant *Courtney*, to *Dublin*; and on the 19th they were hanged up in Chains at the *Naas*: This Fellow, and another called the White Serjeant, had been both in the Irish Army, but broke there for some Rquerries; and after a great deal of Mischief done to the Countrey, they both got what they deserved, the one being killed, and the other hanged. About this time one of the Militia was killed, and several wounded by the Rapparees near *Caperquin*; but in requital the Militia kill five of them.

Towards the latter End of *September*, two Lieutenants of the Irish Army having deserted, and got our General's Pass to go home, they were met withal by *Hogan* and his Party, and stripp'd of what they had; but neither himself nor any of his Crew could read the Pass, else it's probable they would have sent them the way they sometimes did our Militia, when they fell into their Power.. Two Rapparees of one *Higgins*'s Party are taken; and himself desires a Protection. Six more are killed near *Mountmelick*. And on the 26th one *Caloghan* a great Rapparee, and some of his Party, come in under Protection at *Edenderry*: for now they began to be

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be sensible how things were like to go on their side; and therefore when they were afraid to lose the Power of doing Mischief, they came in; and not before.

And to conclude the Month, *Hogan* and his Party meeting with some of our Militia Dragoons near *Roscreagh*, murder seven of them, and the eighth hardly escaped. One *Tiercy* was seized and hanged: And one *Purcell*, after the Rope had broke with him, promising to make a Discovery, was saved, and detected four more. And nigh the End of this Month our Packets brought us an account of the Death of Lieutenant General *Douglas* in Flanders.

CHAP. IX.

The Lords Justices come to the Camp. The Irish General Officers come to the General's Tent. Articles signed. The Articles at large, both Military and Civil, with their Majesties Confirmation to both. We take possession of the Irish Town. A Lieutenant Colonel imprisoned for denying to go to France. A Declaration from the General. My Lord Lucan persuades the Irish to go into France. Their Foot drawn out, and put to the trial. The Lords Justices return towards Dublin. Our Army decamps from Limerick: Some of the Irish march out..

October the first, upon a Complaint from Lieut. Gen. *Sarsfield*, that some of our Men begun to plunder and strip theirs as they found Opportunities, the General gave Orders that the Souldiers should not go beyond our own Works. And now the Irish begin to make Huts in the *King's Island*, and draw several Regiments out of the Town thither, keeping all their Gates fast-lock'd, lest

their

October, 1691. their Men should run away from them upon the news of going for *France*: for how fond soever they might be of K. James's Service, yet few of the common People have any stomach for travelling. That Evening about nine a Clock, the Lords Justices came to the Camp; which being signified to the Irish Officers, on the 2d about 3 a Clock in the Afternoon, came *Sarsfield*, *Waughup*, and all the other Great Men of the Irish Nation, Civil, Military, and some Ecclesiastical, (only 'twas observable that the French Lieutenant Generals kept in Town, and pretended Indisposition, tho they signed the Articles; and yet the Matter was not great as to us whether they had or not, tho it was material to the Irish, as bringing them under the same Circumstances with themselves.) But tho things were in a manner adjusted before, yet there arose new Debates about the Rapparees, and other things, that lasted till 12 a Clock at Night: Then the Articles were ordered to be engrossed, and the Irish return into Town. My Lord *Merion* and my Lord *Brittas* were also now come from *Kerry*, and their Party included in the Articles.

The 3d most of the Irish Officers came again; and dining with the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, they went all afterwards to the General's Tent, where the following Articles were interchangeably signed: The former about the Surrender of the Town, signed by the Generals; and the latter about the Privileges granted to the Irish, signed by the General and Lords Justices jointly, being afterwards ratified by their Majesties Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, in Form following.

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The Civil Articles of Limerick.

Guilielmus & Maria, Dei gratia Anglia, Scotie, Francie & Hiberniae, Rex & Regina, Fidei Defensores, &c: Omibus ad quos praesentes literae nostra pervenirint, salutem: Inspeximus Irritulament. quorund. literarum patentium de Confirmatione gerent. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicecessimo quarto die Februarii ultimi præteriti in Cancellar. nostr. Irrotulat. ac ibidem de Record. remanent. in hac verba.

‘ William and Mary by the Grace of God, &c. To all
‘ to whom these Presents shall come, greeting: Whereas
‘ certain Articles bearing Date the third Day of Octo-
‘ ber last past, made and agreed upon between our
‘ Justices of our Kingdom of Ireland, and our General
‘ of our Forces there on the one Part; and several Offi-
‘ cers there, commanding within the City of Limerick,
‘ in our said Kingdom, on the other Part: Whereby our
‘ said Justices and General did undertake that we should
‘ ratify those Articles within the space of eight Months,
‘ or sooner; and use their utmost Indeavours that the
‘ same should be ratified and confirmed in Parliament.
‘ The Tenor of which said Articles is as follows, viz.

Articles agreed upon between Lieutenant General Ginc-
kell, Commander in Chief of the English Army, on one
Side; and the Lieut. Generals, D'Usson and De Tesse,
Commanders in Chief of the Irish Army, on the other
Side, and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.

1. **T**HAT all Persons without any Exception, of
what Quality or Condition soever, that are
willing to leave the Kingdom of Ireland, shall have free
Li-

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Liberty to go to any Country beyond the Seas, (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their Families, Household-stuff, Plate and Jewels.

2. That all General Officers, Colonels, and generally all other Officers of Horse, Dragoons, and Foot-Guards; Troopers, Dragoons, Souldiers of all kinds, that are in any Garison, Place or Port, now in the Hands of the Irish, or encamp'd in the Counties of Cork, Clare and Kerry; as also those called *Rapparees* or Volunteers, that are willing to go beyond the Seas, as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embarque themselves where-ever the Ships are that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole Bodies, as they are now composed, or in Parties, Companies, or otherwise, without having any Impediment, directly or indirectly.

3. That all Persons above-mentioned, which are willing to leave *Ireland*, and go into *France*, shall have leave to declare at the Times and Places hereafter mentioned, *viz.* the Troops in *Limerick*, on Tuesday next at *Limerick*; the Horse at their Camp on Wednesday; and the other Forces that are dispersed in the Counties of *Clare*, *Kerry* and *Cork*, on the 8th Instant, and on none other, before Monsieur *Tameron*, the French Intendant, and Colonel *Withers*: and after such Declaration is made, the Troops that will go to *France*, must remain under the Command and Discipline of their Officers that are to conduct them thither; and Deserters on each Side shall be given up and punished accordingly.

4. That

4. That all *English* and *Scotch* Officers, that serve now in *Ireland*, shall be included in this Capitulation, as *October*, well for the security of their Estates and Goods in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* (if they are willing to remain here) as for passing freely into *France*, or any other Country to serve.

5. That all the Generals, *French* Officers, the Intendant, the Engineers, the Commissaries of War, and of the Artillery; the Treasurer, and other *French* Officers, Strangers, and all others whatsoever that are in *Lymerick*, *Sligo*, *Ross*, *Clare*, or in the Army, or that do Trade or Commerce, or are otherways employed in any kind of Station or Condition, shall have free leave to pass into *France* or any other Country, and shall have leave to Ship themselves with all their Horses, Equipage, Plate, Papers, and all their Effects whatever; and that General *Ginckel* will order Passports for them, Convoys and Carriages, by Land and by Water, to carry them safe from *Lymerick* to the Ships where they shall be Embarqued, without paying any thing for the said Carriages, or to those that are employed therein with their Horses, Carts, Boats and Shallops.

6. That if any of the aforesaid Equipages, Merchandise, Horses, Money, Plate or other Moveables, or Household Stuff belonging to the said *Irish* Troops, or to the *French* Officers, or other particular Persons whatsoever, be Robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the Troops of the said General, the said General will order it to be restored or payment made according to the Value that is given in upon Oath by the Persons so robbed: or plundered, and the said *Irish* Troops to be Transported, as aforesaid; and all Persons belonging to them are to observe good Orders in their March and Quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the Country, or make restitution for the same.

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7. That to Facilitate the Transporting the said Troops, the General will Furnish fifty Ships, each Ship Burthen two hundred Tuns, for which the Persons to be Transported shall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more, if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them; and if any of the said Ships shall be lesser Burthen, he will furnish more in Number to countervail, and also give two Men of War to Embarque the Principal Officers, and serve for a Convoy to the Vessels of Burthen.

8. That a Commissary shall be sent forthwith to *Cork* to Visit the Transport Ships, and see what Condition they are in for Sailing, and that, assoon as they are ready, the Troops to be Transported shall March with all convenient Speed the nearest way, in order to Embarque there: and if there shall be any more Men to be Transported than can be carryed off in the said fifty Ships, the rest shall quit the *English* Town of *Lymerick*, and March to such Quarters as shall be appointed for them Convenient for their Transportation, where they shall remain till the other twenty Ships are ready, which they are to be in a Month, and may Embarque on any *French* Ships that may come in the mean while.

9. That the said Ships shall be furnished with Forage for Horse, and all necessary Provisions, to subsist the Officers, Troopers, Dragoons, and Souldiers, and all other Persons, that are shipt to be Transported into *France*; which Provision shall be paid for assoon as all are disembarqued at *Brest* or *Nantz*, upon the Coast of *Brettany*, or any other part of *France* they can make.

10. And to secure the return of the said Ships (the danger of the Seas excepted) and the payment for the said Provisions, sufficient Hostages shall be given.

11. That

11. That the Garrison of *Clare-Castle, Ross*, and all other Foot that are in Garrison in the Counties of *Clare, Cork, and Kerry*, shall have the advantage of this present Capitulation; and such part of those Garrisons as design to go beyond Sea, shall march out with their Arms, Baggage, Drums beating, Ball in Mouth, Match lighted at both ends, Colours flying, with all Provisions, and half the Ammunition that is in the said Garrisons, and join the Horse that marches to be transported; or if then there is not Shipping enough for the Body of Foot, that is to be next transported after the Horse, General *Ginckel* will order that they be furnished with Carriages for that purpose; and what Provisions they shall want in their March, they paying for the said Provision, or else that they may take it out of their own Magazines.

12. That all the Troops of Horse and Dragoons, that are in the Counties of *Cork, Kerry, and Clare*, shall also have the Benefit of this Capitulation; and that such as will pass into *France*, shall have Quarters given them in the Counties of *Clare* and *Kerry* apart from the Troops that are commanded by General *Ginckel*, until they be shipp'd; and within their Quarters they shall pay for every thing, except Forrage and Pasture for their Horses, which shall be furnished *Gratis*.

13. Those of the Garrison of *Sligo* that are to join the *Irish* Army, shall have the Benefit of this Capitulation, and Orders shall be sent unto them that are to convoy them up, to bring them hither to *Lymerick* the shortest way.

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14. The *Irish* may have liberty to transport nine hundred Horses, including Horses for the Officers, which shall be transported *Gratis*; and as for the Troopers that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves, as they shall think fit, giving up their Arms and Horses to such Persons as the General shall appoint.

15. It shall be permitted for those that are appointed to take care for the Subsistence of the Horse that are willing to go into *France*, to buy Hay and Corn at the King's rates, where ever they can find it in the Quarters that are assigned for them, without any lett or molestation; and to carry all necessary Provision out of the City of *Lymbrick*; and, for this purpose, the General will furnish convenient Carriages for them to the Place, where they shall be embarked.

16. It shall be further lawful to make use of the Hay, preserved in store in the County of *Kerry*, for the Horses that shall be embarked; and, if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy Hay and Oats where-ever they can be found, at the King's rates.

17. That all Prisoners of War that were in *Ireland* the 28th. of *September*, shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the General promises to use his Endeavours that those that are in *England* or *Flanders* shall be set at liberty also.

18. The General will cause Provisions and Medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded Officers, Troopers, Dragooneers, and Soldiers of the *Irish* Army, that cannot pass into *France* at the first Embarkment; and after they are cured, will order them Ships to pass into *France*, if they are willing to go.

19. That

19. That at the Signing hereof the General will send a Ship Express to *France*, and that besides he will furnish two small Ships, of those that are now in the River of *Lymerick* to Transport two Persons into *France* that are to be sent to give Notice of this Treaty, and that the Commanders of the said Ships shall have Orders to put a-shore at the next Port in *France* they shall make.

20. That all those of the said Troops, Officers, or Soldiers, of what Character soever, that will pass into *France*, shall not be stopp'd on the Account of Debt, or other Pretext.

21. If after the Signing this present Treaty, and before the Arrival of the Fleet, a *French* Packet-Boat, or other Transport-Ship, shall arrive from *France* in any Part of *Ireland*, the General will order a Pass-Port not only for such as must go on Board the said Ships, but to the Ships to come to the nearest Port or Place where the Troops to be transported shall be quartered.

22. That after the Arrival of the Fleet, there shall be free Communication and Passage between it and the Quarters of the abovesaid Troops; and especially for all those that have Passes from the Chief Commanders of the said Fleet, or from Monsieur *Tameron* the Intendant.

23. In Consideration of the present Capitulation, the two Towns of *Lymerick* shall be delivered and put into the Hands of the General, or any other Person that he shall appoint at the Times and Days hereafter specified; *viz.* the *Irish* Town, except Magazines and Hospital, on the day of the signing these present Articles; and as for the *English* Town, it shall remain, together with the Island and free Passage of *Thomond-Bridge* in the

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the hands of those of the *Irish* Army that are now in the Garrison, or that shall hereafter come from the Counties of *Cork*, *Clare*, *Kerry*, *Sligo*, and other Places above-mentioned, until there shall be Conveniency found for their Transportation.

24. And to prevent all Disorders that may happen between the Garrison that the General shall place in the *Irish* Town, which shall be delivered to him, and the *Irish* Troops that shall remain in the *English* Town, and the Island, which they may do until the Troops to be embarked on the first Fifty Ships shall be gone for *France*, and no longer, they shall intrench themselves on both sides, to hinder the Communication of the said Garrisons, and it shall be prohibited on both sides to offer any thing that is offensive, and the Parties offending shall be punished on either side.

25. That it shall be lawful for the said Garrison to march out at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked with Arms, Baggage, Drums beating, Match lighted at both ends, Bullet in Mouth, Colours flying, six Brass-Guns, such as the Besieged shall chuse, two Mortar-Pieces, and half the Ammunition that is now in the Magazines of the said Place; and for this purpose, an Inventory of all the Ammunition in the Garrison shall be made in the presence of any Person that the General shall appoint the next Day after the present Articles be signed.

26. All the Magazines of Provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the Subsistence of those of the *Irish* Army that will pass into *France*; and that if there shall not

not be sufficient in the Stores for the Support of the said Troops while they stay in this Kingdom, and are crossing the Seas, that upon giving an account of their Numbers, the General will furnish them with sufficient Provisions at the King's rates ; and that there shall be a free Market in *Lymerick* and other Quarters where the said Troops shall be : And in Case any Provisions shall remain in the Magazines of *Lymerick* when the Town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the Provisions to be furnish'd to the Troops on Ship-Board.

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27. That there shall be a Cessation of Arms at Land, as also at Sea, with respect to the Ships, whether *English*, *Dutch* or *French*, designed for the Transportation of the said Troops, until they shall be returned to their respective Harbours ; and that on both sides they shall be furnish'd with sufficient Pass-Ports both for Ships and Men ; and if any Sea-Commander or Captain of a Ship; any Officer, Trooper, Dragoon, or Soldier, or any other Person, shall act contrary to this Cessation, the Persons so acting shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done ; and Officers shall be sent to the Mouth of the River of *Lymerick*, to give notice to the Commanders of the *English* and *French* Fleets of the present Conjunction, that they may observe the Cessation of Arms accordingly.

28. That for surety of the Execution of this present Capitulation, and of each Article therein contained, the Besieged shall give the following Hostages.

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29. If before this Capitulation is fully executed, there happens any Change in the Government or Command of the Army, which is now commanded by General *Ginckel*, all those that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these Articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any account.

D'Usson,

Le Chevalier de Tessée,

Latour Monfort

Mark Talbot,

Lucan

Jo. Wauchop

Galmoyn,

M. Purcell.

ARTICLES

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ARTICLES agreed upon the Third Day of October 1691, between the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Conyngesby Esq; Lords Justices of Ireland, and his Excellency the Baron De Ginckel, Lieut. General, and Commander in Chief of the English Army, on the one part, and the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Percy, Viscount Gallmoy, Col. Nic. Purcell, Col. Dillon, and Col. John Browne, on the other side; on the behalf of the Irish Inhabitants in the City and County of Lymerick, the Counties of Clare, Cork, Kerry, Sligo, and Mayo, in consideration of the surrender of the City of Lymerick, and other Agreements made between the said Lieut. Gen. Ginckel, the Gouvernour of the City of Lymerick, and the Generals of the Irish Army, bearing Date with these Presents, for the Surrender of the said City, and Submission of the said Army.

1. That the Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom shall enjoy such Privileges in the Exercise of their Religion as are consistent with the Laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the Reign of King Charles the Second; and Their Majesties (as soon as their Affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this Kingdom) will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholicks such further Security in that Particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said Religion.

2. All the Inhabitants or Residents of Lymerick, or any other Garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all Officers and Soldiers now in Arms under any Commission of K. James, or those Authorized by him, to grant the same

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in the several Counties of *Lymerick, Cork, Kerry, Clare, Sligo, and Mayo*, or any of them, and all the Commission'd Officers in their Majesties Quarters, that belong to the *Irish Regiments* now in being, that are treated with, and who are not Prisoners of War, or have taken Protection, who shall return, and submit to Their Majesties Obedience, their and every of their Heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy all and every their Estates of Free-hold and Inheritance, and all the Right, Title, and Interest, Privileges and Immunities which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully entitled to in the Reign of K. *Charles the Second*; or at any time since, by the Laws and Statutes that were in force in the said Reign of King *Charles the Second*, and shall be put in possession by order of the Government of such of them as are in the King's Hands, or the Hands of his Tenants, without being put to any Suit or Trouble therein; and all such Estates shall be freed and discharged from all Arrears of Crown-Rents, Quit-Rents, and other publick Charges incurred, and become due since *Michaelmas 1688*, to the Day of the Date hereof; and all Persons comprehended in this Article, shall have, hold, and enjoy all their Goods and Chattels real and personal, to them or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own Hands, or in the Hands of any Persons whatsoever in Trust for, or for the Use of them, or any of them: And all and every the said Persons, of what Profession, Trade, or Calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective Professions, Trades and Callings as freely as they did use, exercise and enjoy the same in the Reign of K. *James the Second*; provided that nothing in this Article contained, be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting Person now out of the Kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: Provided also, That no Person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the Benefit

Benefit of this Article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance made by Act of Parliament in *England*, in the first year of the Reign of their present Majesties, when thereunto required.

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3. All Merchants, or reputed Merchants of the City of *Lymerick*, or of any other Garrison now possessed by the *Irish*, or of any Town or Place in the Counties of *Clare*, or *Kerry*, who are absent beyond the Seas, that have not bore Arms since Their Majesties Declaration in *February 1689*, shall have the Benefit of the Second Article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such Merchants, and reputed Merchants do repair into this Kingdom within the space of eight Months from the Date hereof.

4. The following Officers, viz, *Col. Simon Lutterill*, *Col. Rowland White*, *Maurice Eustace* of *Tearmanstown*, *Cheviers* of *Maystow*, commonly called *Mount-Linster*, now belonging to the Regiments of the aforesaid Garrisons and Quarters of the *Irish Army* who are beyond the Seas, and sent thither upon Affairs of their respective Regiments, or the Army in general, shall have the Benefit and Advantage of the Second Article, provided they return hither within the space of eight Months from the Date of these Presents, and submit to Their Majesties Government, and take the above-mentioned Oath.

5. That all and singular the said Persons comprised in the Second and Third Articles, shall have a General Pardon of all Attainders, Outlawries, Treasons, Misprisions of Treasons, Premunires, Felonies, Trespasses, and other Crimes and Misdemeanors whatsoever by them or any of them, committed since the beginning of the Reign of *K. James the Second*; and if any of them are attainted by

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1691.*A Continuation of the History*

Parliament, the Lords Justices and the General will use their best Endeavours to get the same Repealed by parliament, and the Outlawries to be Reversed *gratis*, all but Writing-Clerks Fees.

6. Whereas these present Wars have drawn great Violences upon both Parties, and if Leave were given to the bringing of all sorts of private Actions, the Animosities would probably continue that have been so long on foot, and the publick Disturbances last; for the quieting and settling therefore of the Kingdom, and the avoiding those Inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no Person, or Persons whatsoever comprised in the foregoing Articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the Suit of any Party or Parties whatsoever, for any Trespasses by them committed, or for any Arms, Horses, Moneys, Goods, Chattels, Merchandizes, or Provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the Time of the War; and no Person or Persons whatsoever in the Second or Third Articles comprised, shall be sued, or made accountable for the Rents or Rates of any Lands, Tenements, or Houses by him or them reserved or enjoyed in this Kingdom since the beginning of the present War, to the Day of the Date hereof; nor for any Waste or Trespass by him or them committed in any such Lands, Tenements, or Houses: And it is also agreed, that this Article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

7. Every Nobleman and Gentleman comprised in the Second and Third Articles, shall have Liberty to ride with a Sword and Case of Pistols if they think fit, and keep a Gun in their Houses for the Defence of the same, or Fowling.

8. The

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8. The Inhabitants and Residents of the City of *Lymenick*, and other Garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their Goods, Chattels, and Provisions out of the same, without being viewed or search'd, or paying any manner of Duties, and shall not be compelled to leave their Houses or Lodgings they now have therein, for the space of six Weeks next ensuing the Date hereof.

9. The Oath to be administred to such *Roman Catholicks* as submit to Their Majesties Government, shall be the Oath afore-said, and no other.

10. No Person or Persons who shall at any time hereafter break these Articles, or any of them, shall thereby make or cause any other Person or Persons to forfeit or los the Benefit of the same.

11. The Lords Justices and General do promise to use their utmost Endeavours that all Persons comprehended in the above-mentioned Articles, shall be protected and defended from all Arrests and Executions for Debt or Damage, for the space of eight Months next ensuing the Date hereof.

12. Lastly, The Lords Justices and the General do undertake, That Their Majesties will ratifie these Articles within the space of three Months, or sooner, and use their utmost Endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in the Parliament.

13. *And whereas Col. *John Browne* stood indebted unto several Protestants by Judgments of Record, which appearing to the late Government, the Lords *Tyrconnel* and *Lucan* took away the Effects the said *John Browne* had to answer the said Debts; which Effects were taken for the publick

*2 Whether it be conform to the Laws of War, that one and the same Person should be included in Articles of Surrender of three distinct places, as was Col. *J. Browne*.

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1691.

publick Use of the *Irish*, and their Army, for freeing the said Lord *Lucan* of his said Engagement past upon their publick Account for payment of the said Protestants, for preventing the Ruine of the said *John Browne*, and for satisfaction of his said Creditors, at the instance of the said Lord *Lucan*, and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, That the said Lords Justices, and Lieut. General *Ginckel* shall interpose with the King and Parliament, to have the Estates secured to *Roman Catholicks* by Articles and Capitulations in this Kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said Debts as the said Lord *Lucan*, upon stating Accounts with the said *John Browne*, shall certifie under his hand, that the Effects taken from the said *John Browne*, amount unto; Account is to be stated, and the Balance certified by the said Lord *Lucan* in 21 Days after the Date hereof: For the true performance whereof, we have hereunto set our Hands:

Present,
Scravemore.
H. Mackay.
T. Talmash.

Charles Porter.
Tho. Conyngesby.
Baron De Ginckel.

And

AND whereas the said City of Lymerick hath been since, ^{October,} 1691. in pursuance of the said Articles, surrendered unto **Us.** Now know ye, That We having considered of the said Articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare that We do for **Us**, our Heirs and Successors, as far as in **Us** lies, ratifie and confirm the same, and every Clause, Matter, and Thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an *Act* of Parliament shall be found to be necessary, We shall recommend the same to be made good by Parliament; and shall give Our Royal Assent to any Bill or Bills, that shall be passed by Our Two Houses of Parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto **Us** that it was agreed between the Parties to the said Articles, that after the Words, Lymerick, Clare, Cerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said Articles, the Words following; viz. **And all such as are under their Protection in the said Counties,** should be inserted, and be part of the said Articles; which Words having been casually omitted by the Writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said Articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second Town was surrendered. And that Our said Justices and General, or one of them, did promise that the said Clause should be made good, it being within the Intention of the Capitulation, and inserted in the foul Draught thereof. Our further Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby ratifie and confirm the said Words; viz. **(And all such as are under their protection in the said Counties)** hereby for **Us**, our Heirs and Successors, ordaining, and declaring, that all and every Person and Persons therein concerned, shall, and may have, receive, and enjoy the Benefit thereof in such and the same manner, as if the Words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second Article, any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second Article, in any ways notwithstanding.

Provided.

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1691.

Provided always, and Our Will and Pleasure is, that these our Letters-Patents shall be enrolled in our Court of Chancery, in our said Kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one Year next ensuing. In witness, &c. Witness Our self at Westminster, the Twenty fourth Day of February, Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Gulielmi & Mariæ, quarto, per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem præmissor. prædict. ad requisitionem Attornat. General. Domini Regis & Dominæ Reginæ pro Regno Hiberniæ, duximus exemplificandum per præsentes. In Cujus rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis Annoque Regni eorum quarto,

Bridges.

Examinat. per Nos } S. Keck,
Lacon W. Child. } in Cancel. Magistros.

Our Men had Orders to march into the *Irish* Town that Night ; but it was after Sun-set before the Articles of the were signed ; and therefore Major-General *Talmash* that Out-Works, was appointed to take possession of the Town , did not think it convenient to march in the Night, but commanded Count *Nassau*'s and Colonel *Gustavus Hamilton*'s Regiments to take possession of the Stone-Fort, and all the Out-Works of the *Irish-Town*: And on the fourth, five of our Regiments march'd in, and took possession of the *Irish* Town, wherein we found 14 pieces of Canon, and a Church heap'd full of Oats, which the *Irish* had the Benefit of, according to the Articles. The Works were all exceeding strong, and the Town as dirty, the *Irish*

and of the
Town.

Irish had left very little else in it however, but carried every thing away that might do them the least Service. Our Regiments in Town were relieved every day as long as the Army staid, because the Place was so disordered, that we could not abide long in it till things were in some measure better disposed of. At our going in, we planted a Guard at one end of *Balls-Bridge* as the Irish had at the other.

October the Fifth, One hundred Men out of each Foot- Regiment were ordered to, level the Works that we had cast up against the Town ; and, about Ten a-Clock, the General received a Letter from a Lieutenant-Colonel in the *Irish Army*, complaining that he was imprisoned for denying to go with them into *France* ; which the General took so very ill, that he ordered four Guns to be carried immediately down, and planted upon *Balls-Bridge*, saying, with some heat, that he would teach them to play Tricks with him ; which my Lord *Lucan* hearing of, (for so we may venture to call Lieutenant-General *Sarsfield* now, since the Articles do it) he came out to our Camp, and several sharp Words passed, my Lord *Lucan* saying, at last, that he was then in the General's Power. *Not so* (replies the other) but you shall go in, and then do the best you can ; but he endeavoured to excuse the thing, by saying there were Prisoners of War, and Prisoners of State, for some Misdemeanors against their Government ; some of those, though not obliged by the Articles, they had set at liberty, who coming warm from our Camp afterwards, they begun to rail and speak dis-respectfully of the *Irish Officers*, for which this Lieutenant-Colonel was imprison'd, and not for desiring to leave them ; so that after some other Replies, all things were quiet, and the Prisoner enlarged. The General however sent ten Field-Pieces and six Canon into the Irish Town, and in the Afternoon ordered the following Declaration.

M m

October,
1691.Our Batteries
levelled.A Lieutenant-
Colonel im-
prison'd for
denying to go
with the Irish
into France.

By

October,
1691.

By Lieutenant-General Ginckel, Commander in Chief of
Their Majesties Forces.

THeir Majesties having sufficiently manifested to the World their Intention of bringing this Kingdom into a state of Quiet and Repose, and to the flourishing Condition it formerly was in ; and for that Reason have extended their Grace and Favour to those that, till now, have been in Arms against them. We cannot but let the Officers and Soldiers of the *Irish* Army know how willing we are to indulge, and provide for them, that by remaining in this Kingdom, or serving Their Majesties abroad, had rather promote the *British* and *Irish* Interest, than the Designs of *France* against both : And do therefore promise and declare, that all Officers and Soldiers of the said Army that have a mind to return to their homes, shall have leave to do so with all their Goods and Effects, and there be permitted to live quietly and peaceably under the Protection and Encouragement of the Government. And although, by the Capitulation, all the Troopers of that Army, besides the six hundred that have License to go beyond Sea, were to deliver up their Horses without payment, to such Persons as shall be appointed to receive the same ; yet we do hereby give the said Troopers and Dragoons leave to sell their Horses to whom they think fit, and will pay them for their Arms upon their giving them up to the Officer, commanding the Train of Artillery, either in the *Irish* Town of *Limerick*, or the Camp : As also to the Foot-Soldiers ; they shall likewise be paid for their Arms, they bringing them in. As for those Officers and Soldiers that are willing to take Service under Their Majesties, they shall have Quarters immediately assigned them, and receive Subsistence till Their Majesties further Pleasure

sure ; for which end they may send two Officers of their own to *England*, or elsewhere, to receive from Their Majesties themselves what further Orders they shall please to give herein. And whereas it has industriously been spread about, that such of the Irish as enter into Their Majesties Service will be sent into *Hungary*, and other remote Parts, contrary to their Inclinations and Desires ; We assure them they shall not be obliged to serve in any Place against their Wills, no more than be constrained to take Service here, or return to their homes, they being at full and entire liberty to chuse what part they will take ; but if once they go into *France*, they must not expect to return into this Kingdom again. Given at the Camp, by *Lymerick*, the 5th. of *October*, 1691.

October,
1691.

Baron De Ginckel.

That Afternoon, my Lord *Lucan* and Major-General *Waughop* made Speeches to the *Irish* Souldiers in Town and in the King's Island, telling them, that though they were under indifferent Circumstances at present ; yet next Spring, or soon after, they would either be landed in *England*, or else in *Ireland*, with a powerful Army ; every Officer amongst them keeping their present Posts, at least, and would always be upon an *English* Establishment, and receive *English* Pay, even in *France* it self ; and a great many other Advantages were laid before them, which would have seem'd improbable to any but *Irish*-Men, who easily believe what they wou'd have, but are as soon dejected at any frivolous Misfortune. And whilst they were at this Work, the General was settling the Quarters of several of our own Regiments, who now had endured a very long and active Campaigne.

October,
1691.

The Sixth in the Morning a Sermon was preached to each *Irish* Regiment by their Priests, declaring the Advantages to them and their Religion, by adhering to the *French* Interest, and the Inconveniences, nay, certain Damnation, of joining with Hereticks ; and then a good Quantity of Brandy given them to wash it down. After that the Bishops gave their Blessings ; and then the whole

The *Irish* Foot
drawn out, and
put to the tri-
al who would
go or stay.

Body of the *Irish* Foot were drawn out on the County of *Clare*-side, being at least Fourteen thousand Men by Poll. The Lords-Justices and General went over the River to view them, Adjutant-General *Wythers* being appointed to acquaint them with the Advantages of our Service above that of *France* ; and how unnatural it was for them to chuse to go serve in a Foreign Countrey against the real Interest of their own , with much more to that purpose, and Care was likewise taken to distribute the General's Declaration. Then the Regiments were ordered to march, and those that were for *France*, went on ; but those that were inclined to us, had liberty to file off at a Place appointed. That which they called the Royal Regiment, being then fourteen hundred Men, seem'd to go all entire except seven Men, which the General was much concerned at ; then my Lord *Ivaeghe*'s Regiment of *Ulster*, *Irish*, came off entire to our side, as did also Colonel *Wilson*'s, and about half my Lord *Louth*'s, and a great many out of most other Regiments , Brigadier *Clifford*, Colonel *Henry Lutterel*, and Colonel *Purcel*, all appeared adverse to the going for *France*. And on the seventh, the Lords-Justices having performed all that was necessary on their side, they returned towards *Dublin* ; and Colonel *Earles*, with a Regiment of *Danes*, march towards Quarters. The *Irish* had kept their Stores pretty entire, from the beginning of the Capitulation till after the Division of Men ; and then they distribute Bread, Brandy, Claret, and some little Money amongst those that staid with them, as well to encourage

The Lords-
Justices Re-
turn towards
Dublin.

encourage some, as to prevent others from going off, keeping their Gates always fast lock'd, and a strong Guard at each. And now the General seem'd displeased that the *Irish* used indirect means to threaten their Men into a *French* Voyage, telling the *Irish* great Officers plainly, that if they broke the Articles, he thought himself no longer obliged to observe them; then Colonel *Matthews*, and Colonel *Lumley* were sent to the Horse-Camp upon the same account: And this day, and the next, my Lord *Ivaeghe's*, Colonel *Wilson's*, part of my Lord *Dillon's*, Colonel *Hussey's*, and other *Irish* Regiments were mustered nigh the General's Quarters, making 1046 in those two days, beside double the number that had Passes to go home; those that were mustered had all of them Bread, Cheese, Brandy, and Tabaco, with a Fortnight's Subsistence given them by Adjutant-General *Wythers*, who never can be sufficiently commended for the Care and Pains he has taken during the whole War of *Ireland*.

The General was resolved to do all things possible to prevent the *Irish* going in so great Numbers out of the Kingdom, as being a strengthning our Adversaries, and a weakning of our selves; and therefore he orders the following Declaration to be Published.

By

October,
1691.

By Lieut. General Ginckel, Commander in Chief of
Their Majesties Forces.

Since it has pleased God to bless Their Majesties Arms with that Success as to reduce this Kingdom to their Obedience; to the end that all the Inhabitants of it may enjoy the Benefit of that Peace which has cost so much Blood, and the effusion of it for the future may be stopt, I think fit to make it publick, and declare, That all Persons of what Quality or Condition soever, have free liberty and permission to return to their several Homes with their Goods, Stocks, and Families, and there live quietly and peaceably under the Protection of the Government.

And whereas several stragling People remain still in Arms, and daily infest the Roads, committing Robberies and Murders upon Their Majesties Subjects; I do hereby require all such, whether known by the Name of *Rapparies*, *Voluntiers*, *Creights*, or others, to return quietly to their respective Parishes, deliver up their Arms, and enter their Names with some of their Majesties Justices of the Peace in the Counties to which they belong, within the time limited by the Lords-Justices Proclamation, upon pain of being exempted from all manner of Quarter. And all Justices of the Peace are hereby directed to make Entry and Register of all the Names of all such Persons as aforesaid. And I command all Officers and Souldiers of the Army, and other Persons whatsoever, to forbear committing any Act of Violence or Hostility, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost Perils.

Given at the Camp by *Lymerick*, this 6th. of October,
1691.

Baron De Ginckel.

October

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October 7. Brigadier *Levison's* Dragoons march from the Camp towards *Kerry*, and the Earl of *Portland's*, with another Regiment of Horse, go towards *Green Ann Castle*, to secure the Roads against the *Rapparees*, especially against *Hogan*, and his Party. Several of our Regiments move from beyond the River over the Bridge again, and many of them being pretty thin by reason of hard Marches and continual Duty, some *Irish* were enlisted to strengthen them; an Instance of the various Scenes in humane Affairs, that those very Men we were so busie endeavouring to destroy, and they ten times more inveterate against us, should yet be so far reconciled in so short a time, as to have them on our side, and eat and sleep amongst us; but Souldiers often think no further than Command; and we see it in Truces, That the very next moment after the sharpest Conflict, a Cessation being agreed to, the Men are presently as good Friends as if they never had fallen out.

October 9. Three more *Danish* Regiments move towards Quarters, and a great many of the *Irish* that came off, laid down their Arms at the Train, and so had Passes to go home, with Money to bear their Charges, which made it something scarce amongst our selves, though the poor men did not grudge it.

The 10th. Most of our Army returned from beyond the River, and 1000 *Irish* Horse and Dragoons that came over to our side, were mustered by Commissary *Allen*.

On the 12th. The *Irish* Horse that designed for *France*, marched through the *English* Town, and so out at the Water-Gate, towards *Cork*, being not one Thousand in Number as they passed by our Camp,

The 13th. Lieut. Gen. *Ginckel* with the Army march from *Lymerick* towards Quarters, leaving Sir *David Collier* Governor of *Lymerick*, with his own, Col. *Venner's*, Col. *St. John's*, and Col. *Craughton's*, with one Regiment more in

The Army
march from
Lymerick.

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in the *Irish* Town, my Lord *Drogheda*'s, and my Lord *Lisburn*'s being encamp'd nigh the River-side; without the Walls, till the *Irish* should march out of the *English* Town. Major General *Talmaſh* staid behind to see good Order kept, and the Articles observed on both sides, according to the Design of them.

Some of the
Irish march
out.

Assoon as our Army marched away, the *Irish* Foot-Guards went out towards *Cork*; they were called 1400 Men the Week before; but now, as nigh as I could count them, they made only 482: nor was this Number left before they got to *Cork*.

The 14th. The *Irish* make a distribution of Provisions, and some Money amongst their Men, and are fitting out their Guns and other Tackle in Town for *France*.

And here it may be enquired by ſome, what Security our General had for the Return of ſo many Ships as muſt be employed in that Expedition, ſince they were to go into the Country of our greatest Enemy, and K. James had a ſpecious Pretext, as they were his Subjects, to detain them; they having no Power to make Articles to his prejudice, &c.

But this is no difficult Buſineſſ to reſolve, ſince they had the publick Faith of the *French* and *Irish* Officers, which is ſeldom or never violated in ſuch Cafes; but all Men, during a Ceffation, are commonly treated with the greatest Civility imaginable: Besides which, my Lord *Lucan* and Major General *Waughop* gave the following En-gagement under their Hands, as did also the two *French* Lieut. Generals *D'Uſſone* and *De Teſſee*, another in *French*, to the ſame purpose; giving also Hostages for the better per-formance of all Conditions.

October
6911.

We, the Earl of Lucan, and Major General
Wauhop, whose Names are under-written, do
hereby promise,

1. That all the Ships that have been furnished by My Lord ^{can and Major} ~~Lu~~
Lieut. General Ginckel, and that are to transport ^{General Wau-}
Troops from Ireland to France, according to the late Cap-
itulation, shall be sent back, and return to Cork, Kinsale,
or Waterford, without any hinderance or prejudice to the
said Ships by any Men of War, Privateers, or other Ships
belonging to the French King, or having his Commission.
2. That, as soon as the said Ships shall have Landed the
Irish Troops in France, they shall have full liberty to go back
for Ireland when they think fit, without being hindered upon
any pretence whatsoever.
3. That, if the said Ships do want some Provisions for
their Return here into Ireland, they shall be supplied with
all such as they shall have occasion for at the same Rates
they were furnished in Ireland to the Irish Troops for their
Transportation into France, and what they amount to, shall
be deducted out of the Money that shall be due for the Pro-
visions that were put on Board the Ships for the said Troops.
4. That the Rates of the Provisions that shall be furnish-
ed for Transportation of the said Troops, shall be paid im-
mediately after their Landing in France, or in Bills of Ex-
change payable at London, at 15 days sight.

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And if the Contents of this present Agreement should not be put in execution in all its Particulars, or in any one part, besides Col. Hugh Mac Mahon, Col. Robert Arthur, Col. O Gara, &c. that shall be left in Ireland for Hostages, we do engage our Words and Honour, that we shall surrender our selves Prisoners of War three months after our Landing in case of Contravention, at Whitehall, in the Hands of the Secretaries of State. In Witness whereof, we have hereunto set our Hands this 14th. Day of October, 1691.

Jo. Wauhop.

Lucan.

The 16th. my Lord *Lucan* went from *Lymerick* towards *Cork*, to see things in a readiness for the *Irish* Transportation ; and the same day Sir *Maurice Eustace*'s, Major General *Talbot*'s, Lord *Bedloe*'s, Prince of *Wales*'s, my Lore *Clanrichard*'s, and Col. *Bremingham*'s Regiments being joyned, they march'd out, and made in all only 618 Men.

As they march'd through the *Irish*-Town, their men run away by dozens, having the way open for them ; nor could their Officers prevent it by all their Care ; for they kept the Gates always fast lock'd, and yet several from within the Town made their Escapes by swimming the River.

The 17th. my Lord *Iniskillin*'s Regiment, that had been for some time in the County of *Clare*, was mustered beyond the Town, and so were some others of them on the 18th. and 19th. During which time, our men were employed in making clean the *Irish* Town ; Major General *Talmash* going often amongst them himself, to encourage them to work.

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C H A P. X.

The Campaign ended. Irish Prisoners of War released. Some Rapparees lay down their Arms. Proclamations of Pardon to the rest. The Ulster-Irish return home with their Cattle. The French Fleet arrives in the Shannon. Sir Ralph Delaval with a Squadron in those Seas. Two Letters from the General to him. Some Objections against the Articles of Limerick answered. The last of the Irish quit the English Town. 120 of them drowned. Their Horse ship off at Cork. The General goes to Dublin. The Recorder's Speech to him. Orders for mustering our Army. Major-General Talmash leaves Limerick. Orders for the Danes to ship off. Fortifications at Mullingar and Ballymore demolished. A Proclamation. The General goes for England. The Transport-Ships return from France. The late King's Letter to the Irish at their landing. Their Reception in France. Several desert that were not, as yet, shipp'd off. My Lord Lucan's Release to the General. All the Irish go off, except the Hostages. The Irish that staid very unruly in their Quarters. Orders and Instructions for breaking of them. The Oaths taken according to the New Act of Parliament. An Order to turn out all Irish Papists from our Regiments, Arms, and Ammunition sent for England. The French Hostages go for France. Lieutenant-General Ruvigny lands in Ireland. A Proclamation declaring the War of Ireland ended.

And now the Campaign being ended, so that no continued Thread of Affairs can be drawn from the Army, any thing that has happen'd since may possibly not be so acceptable; yet I hope it may not be amiss to

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give you some slender account how things have gone in that Kingdom since the Siege of *Limerick* to the time of the Proclamation for the War's being ended; though, before I proceed further, it will be necessary to look back, and bring the Actions done in several other parts of the Kingdom, up to the Armies removing from *Limerick*; which indeed may be told in few Words, since little of moment cou'd be expected in any other place, but where the Seat of War was fixed.

In the beginning of *October*, Sollicitor-General *Levinge*, and Sir *Richard Reves*, being appointed Judges for the *Connaught-Circuit*; because the Countrey was very indifferently inhabited, and not as yet throughly settled, Assizes were appointed to be held for this Province, only at *Mullingar*, *Roscommon*, and *Galway*, which was done accordingly: About 20 Rapparees were killed in the Counties of *Waterford* and *Cork*, by some small Parties of the *Militia*; and one *Whitney*, with 4 more in his Company, were set upon, and murdered by a Party of Rapparees, as they were going towards the *Queen's County*, though they killed two, and wounded others before they were seized. And now those loose Fellows seeing how it was like to go with their Party, several of them come in under Protection, and desire to serve their Majesties abroad, when they were out of hopes to plunder their Subjects any longer at home.

Irish Prisoners of War released.

All the *Irish* Prisoners of War that were in *Waterford*-*Gaol*, being upwards of 200, were set at liberty, as they were afterwards at several other Places; particularly at *Carifergus*, where 15 Officers, and about 60 private Men had been Prisoners, ever since the Rout at *Cavan*: and at *Lambay*, where the Prisoners, taken at *Ballymore*, were kept most of this Summer; but now were all discharged according to the Capitulation.

And

And as the *Irish* grew weary of their former Courses on that side of the Country towards *Dublin*, (or rather being forced to it when they could no longer carry it on,) so they submitted apace in all the Corners of the Kingdom. On the 14th, one whom they termed Colonel *Burk*, a popular Man amongst the Rapparees, with a great many of his Followers, came in and submitted at *Loughrea* in the County of *Galway*. On the same Day the *Irish* Horse, and some Foot, March from *Cashell* towards *Cork*, the Prince of *Hesse* going along, as well to prevent the *Irish* from plundering the Countrey, as to hinder any little Quarrels that might happen between them and our own Men as they met accidentally upon the March.

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Some Rappa-
rees lay
down their
Arms.

On the 14th Two Proclamations were Published by the Proclamations of Pardon to the rest. Lords Justices and Council, one reciting a former Proclamation, Dated the 18th of *September*, promising Pardon and Protection to all Robbers, Thieves, and Rapparees, who within a Month should surrender up their Arms to any Justice of the Peace, and take the Oath of Fidelity to Their Majesties mentioned in the Articles of *Limerick*, requiring the Justices of the Peace to make a return under their Hands, of their Names, places of Abode, their Qualities, and Arms, but forbidding all protected Persons, and others, to relieve, conceal, or harbour, the said Robbers, who would not submit ; upon pain of forfeiting their own Protections, and being prosecuted with the utmost severity of Law for such offence : Promising also a Reward of Forty Shillings to any one that would bring in the heads of any such Rogues as would not lay hold on this fair opportunity. By this Proclamation the time for their coming in was protracted till the Fifth of *November*.

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The other Proclamation was to forbid all Officers and Soldiers of the Army, or others, to do any harm or injury to any of the *Irish*, or make any distinction of Nations, every one that takes the Oath, to be esteemed a Subject, and equally entitled to the Benefit of Their Majesties Laws with the rest, &c. By which means all things became so Calm on a sudden, as if there had been no Storm at all in that Kingdom.

Our Army are now on their March to their respective Winter Quarters, and those of the *Irish* that came over to us had Subsistence and Quarters assigned them till Their Majesties pleasure was further known.

On the 19th, *Hogan*, and most of his Crew, came in at *Roscreagh*, and had the benefit of the Proclamation, being afterwards allow'd Twenty Four Men by the General to suppress other Rapparees upon occasion, tho' this was fatal to him, for some of that sort of People Murdered him afterwards. All the Roads and other places leading from the Counties of *Kerry* and *Clare* towards the North, are now full of nothing but *Creights*, and vast stocks of Cattle driving homewards, which was a little odd to see, that they would rather hazard the loss of their Cattle by a long March into *Ulster*, where they had formerly robb'd and plundered the Protestants, and were like to be called to an Account for it, at least they could expect no great encouragement in those places for the future, nor any assurance of their being received as Tenants to their old Farms at their return thither; One would have thought, I say, these things considered, that they would rather have endeavoured to stay in the Counties of *Kerry*, *Clare*, and *Limerick*, where there was Land enough for them, and at easie Rates, than to run all hazards by going down into the North; but the reason of this is plain, for there is so great

The *Ulster*
Irish return
home with
their Cattle.

great an Antipathy between the *Ulster Irish*, and those in other parts of the Kingdom, as nothing can be more, and the Feuds amongst them greater than between either, and their injured Protestant Neighbours, whose favour they had hopes of gaining sooner, than the friendship of one another, neither Party trusting other, or ever desiring it to be otherways; my Lord *Merion*, Brigadier *Clifford*, Colonel *Henry Lutterill*, Baron *Purcell*, and a great many more of the *Irish* Nobility and Gentry go towards *Dublin*.

By the Articles of *Limerick* you may see, that the *French* General Officers expected the coming of their Fleet arrives in the *Shannon*: Fleet, and what was only a report before, is now confirm'd, that they really did come, being Eighteen Men of War, Four Fireships, and Twenty Ships of Burden, under Monsieur *Shalterneau*, of which Monsieur *D'Uffone* gives notice to Major General *Talماsh*, and it was agreed to keep a friendly Correspondence till all matters relating to the Articles were settled. The *French* releasing some of our Ships that they had taken, before they heard of the Cessation. And nigh the same time the *Plimouth*, *Adventure*, and *Centurion*, Three of our Frigats came into *Kinsale*, having brought under their Convoy Two large Pinks with Powder and Ball for that Fort, and said, they left Sir *Ralph Delaval*, with a Squadron of Thirty Men of War under his Command, about Twenty Five Leagues from thence. Which the General having notice of at *Kilkenny*, he writes a Letter to him, dated *October 25th*, giving him an account of the *French* Fleet's arrival in the *Shannon*, and desiring him to Sail that way: And the Day after having received some Accounts how high the *French* carried themselves, and how many Scruples the *Irish* great Officers made since their coming, he sent away another Express with the following Letter.

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Sir *Ralph Delaval* with a Squadron in these Seas.

The General writes Two Letters to him.

Kilkenny,

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To Sir Ralph
Delaval.

Kilkenny, October the 26th, 1691.

SIR,

Since the Letter I sent you last Night, I find it more and more necessary that your Squadron should come round to the *Shannon*, for the *French* Generals make so many difficulties since the coming of their Fleet, that they seem to design nothing but delaying of time: I must therefore again press you to Sail to the River as soon as possible, and place your self so, that Captain *Coale* and the Ships he has with him may join you, to the end, that if the *French* break the Articles we have made, we may be in a Condition to do our selves right. I am informed there are several Frigats at *Cork* and *Kinsale*, which you'll please to make use of if you think you shall have occasion for them. The *French* Fleet is now at *Scatterey*.

But whether the Wind would not serve our Fleet's, coming about to the *Shannon*, or what other reasons there might be, I am a stranger to, tho' all that the *French* and *Irish* Officers insisted on after the coming of their Fleet, was only to have a Clause confirmed that was casually omitted in the Articles which the General promised them, and Their Majesties were pleased afterwards to Condescend to.

For it being late at Night when the Articles were agreed to, and they Engrossed in haste this Clause, *And all such as are under their protection in the said Counties*, was omitted by the Engrosser, tho' it was certainly inserted in the foul Draught. This was what the *Irish* Officers desired might be made good after the coming of the *French* Fleet: And first it was but reasonable, seeing it was within the intent of the Articles. Secondly, It was Prudence not to deny it, since the *French* Fleet being Eighteen Men

of

of War, Four Fireships, and Twenty Ships of Burden were certainly too hard for Captain *Coal* and his Squadrone then in the *Shannon*, and might have put what Men and Provisions they pleased into the *English* Town, our Army also being gone to Quarters, we had only Five Regiments in the *Irish* Town, with my Lord *Drogheda's*, and my Lord *Lisburn's*, Encamp'd without the Walls. Provisions also were so scarce with us, that our Men had only a Pint of Meal a Day allowed them, and the *Irish* in the other Town were not only more in number, but better provided; so that if Justice could not have obliged the General to the Confirmation of that *Clause*, yet discretion at that Juncture would.

In a Day or Two after the Articles were Signed, we had News that the *French* Fleet was come to *Dingle Bay*, with Ammunition and all sorts of Provisions for the Relief of the Town, this made the *Irish* Great Officers hang their Heads, to think they should so easily part with a place of that importance, or rather, how they could Answer it to the *French* King, who had been at all that expence and hazard in order to their Relief, but the opportunity was lost in doing it no sooner, which some have look'd upon since as one of the falsest steps made in *France* of a long time, our King being now at leisure to visit them, instead of their supporting his Enemies in *Ireland*.

And tho' the *French* Fleet came too late to Relieve the Town, yet I hope it may not be impertinent to endeavour the Answering some Objections that have been since made against the Capitulations of *Limerick*: As if the Lords Justices and the General had condescended too far in granting the *Irish* any Terms at all, at least such as they did, which put them into a Condition of Revolting again whensoever an opportunity offered it self. That therefore Providence seem'd now to have given the *Irish* up, as the Barbarous Nations were formerly to the *Jews*, and

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that if this occasion was neglected, of putting it out of their power for ever hereafter to endanger the *English Interest* : Or if it was not made a right use of, (by which they understood destroying of them Root and Branch,) then we might certainly expect, that all the Expence and Blood it has cost *England* in their Reduction, will in a small time signifie nothing ; since it's observed, that the *Irish* of themselves are a sloathful People, naturally inclined to Spoil, Rapine, Stealth, and Oppression, bred in no Trades, Manufactures, or other ways of Civil Industry, to live by in times of Peace, wherein they never did, nor can endure to continue long, loving always a savage and unbridled kind of Life : And therefore when one opportunity is neglected of destroying them, it will be the Justice of God to make them afterwards the Instruments of our punishment, as they have been hitherto. And thus Argue a great many People of that Countrey, who pretend good experience, and that very lately, for what they say.

But as to those Comparisons between us and the *Jews*, the *Irish*, and the Barbarous Nations formerly Inhabiting *Judea*, there can be no just proportion made to draw any reasonable Conclusions from, since the *Irish* are Christians as well as we, tho' misled and abused in a great many points, and have a natural right to their Countrey, which several of them have never forfeited by any Rebellions, how forward soever others may have been. And for my own part I must own my self of the Opinion, that any Policy that is founded in Blood, and tends to the destruction of Mankind, is not so warrantable by the Law of God, as some people endeavour to make it, excepting that one Instance of the *Jews* which is no precedent to any other People : And what means soever may be used for the procuring of Unity, or Settlement, in a Countrey, Men must at the same time be careful not to deface and dissolve the

the Bonds of Christian Charity; nay, of humane Society, since acting the contrary, is but to dash the second Table against the first; and so to consider others as of this or that Persuasion, and treat them ill upon that account, is to forget that they are Men (as my Lord *Bacon* has formerly observed;) And indeed to me it seems full as unreasonable to destroy other People, purely because they cannot think as we do, as it is for one man to ruine another, because the outward Figure and Shape of his Body is not the same with his own.

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Nor can I imagine that the destruction of those men, if they really had been in our power, could any way have contributed either to the profit or further advancement of the Interest of that Country, since the Act of Settlement of the Crown of *England* upon their present Majesties, verily deliberately provides, *That no Papist, or any one marrying a Papist, shall for ever hereafter be capable to inherit the Imperial Crowns of these Kingdoms.* And the late swearing Act relating to *Ireland*, entituled, *An Act for abrogating the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other new ones,* are both very considerable Advantages to the Protestant Interest in that Kingdom; and no doubt, it will be easier for the Government to observe, and keep their part of those Articles, than for the *Irish* themselves to do their duty; which will be seen in time; and there are other convenient Maxims to be observed; which, being things out of my way, I do not pretend to consider them; what I have to offer upon this Head, being rather Matter of Fact than Argument, and that by comparing the state of the *Irish* at *Lynerick*, and other Places of the Kingdom, at the making of these Articles; with their Condition at their surrendring up all in the former Wars.

In the former Wars of *Ireland*, the City of *Lymerick* was surrendered to *Ireton* on the 29th. of October 1651,

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upon severe Articles ; the Goverour, the Titular Bishop of *Lymerick*, and twelve more being excepted by name, and some of these were afterwards executed ; but during the Siege, the *Irish* lost 5000 men, of whom the Plague destroyed many more than the Sword ; 1300 only marched out, and about 4000 *Irish* remained within. *Cox, Vol. 2.* p. 69.

Then *Galway* was surrendered on the 12th. of *May* following, to Sir *Charles Coot* ; and on the 27th. of *June*, Major General *Ludlow* frighted the Garrison of *Ross* in *Kerry*, into a Surrender, by a small Vessel that he was bringing over the Hills to put into the Lough that surrounds *Ross-Castle*. *Rosscommon* and *James-Town* had surrendered to Col. *Reynolds* on the 27th. of *April* before, and *Inchylough* surrendered to Col. *Zanchy* on the first of *August*, at what time the Lords of *Westmeath* and *Muskevery*, *O Connor Roe*, Sir *Francis Talbot*, Sir *William Dungan*, and several others submitted upon those Conditions, *That they should abide a Trial for the Murders committed in the beginning of the Rebellion, and those that only assisted in the War, were to forfeit two Thirds of their Estates, and to be banished.*

And what I would further observe, is this, *That when the General Assembly of the Popish Clergy, and others, at *Loughreagh*, desired the then Marquess of *Ormond's* leave to treat with the Enemy for the Nation in general, at the Surrender of *Galway*, *Cromwel's* Army positively refused it; being resolved not to admit of any Treaty for the whole; but those that would capitulate, should do it only for themselves, or the Towns and Places they respectively belonged to: By which means tho' the Town of *Galway* was the last considerable one that was surrendered; being on the 12th. of *May* 1652. yet it was the 26th. of *September* 1653. before it was declared *That the Rebels were subdued, and the Rebellion appeased and ended.* And though*

though His Majesties Proclamation about the ending of this present War, was nigh six Months after the Surrender of *Lymerick*, yet this was deferred, only with respect to the poverty of the Country; in forgiving the Kingdom half a years *Quit-Rents*, and had not the least relation to any appearance of a further Disturbance, as appears by the Proclamation it self.

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Now if *Lymerick* had been no stronger Town when we last besieged it, than it was some time after the first Conquest of *Ireland*, when Earl *Reymond*, Son-in-Law to *Strongbow*, and General of the Army, with *David Walsh*, and others, swam into the King's Island; who taking the City (without any sort of Cannon) and plundering it, they left a Garrison of their own men there; or indeed if it had been in no better condition than in the former Wars, when there appeared nothing like Works without the Walls themselves; or if the *Irish* People were no better skill'd in Arms now, than they have been heretofore, even in the late times, being most of them rather a confused Rabble, than any thing that deserved the Name of an Army; then it had been a Reflection upon an Army so well disciplin'd, and in so good order as ours was, not to have humbled them without any Terms: But besides the natural strength of its Situation, *Lymerick* is now improved by Art to that degree, that it is very much stronger than it was when we laid Siege to it the former year, the Enemy with extraordinary diligence and industry having since that, cast up very strong new Works round the *Irish* Town with great Improvements in the King's Island, and elsewhere. And the *Irish* had not only the Advantages of being train'd up to the use of Arms by my Lord *Tyrconnel*, and serving in an Army for some years past, but several of them have been abroad in foreign Service, besides the being for the most part in Action during the three Campagnes in *Ireland*; and Custom it self, is, no doubt of

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of it, one Point of Courage. But those who ever read the Story of *Noteburg*, will not wonder at this Capitulation; this (they say) is a Town built in an Island at the Entrance of the Lake *Lagoda*, made by the *Muscovites*, and encompassed with a strong Wall against the Attempts of the *Suedes*; it standing upon their Frontiers: This the *Suedes* took under the Command of *James De la Garde*, but not till the Extremities of the Siege; and a contagous Disease had consumed the whole Garrison to two Men, who yet made a very advantageous Capitulation. *vid. Ambassadors of Hollands Travels into Muscovy and Russia.*

And as to the *Irish*, it must needs be acknowledged that they never had formerly so fair a Pretext as now; nor had they ever been so unanimous (since in the late Wars they had at least three different Armies on Foot at the same time) they had now also the Assistance and Encouragement of *France*, which is without question at present one of the most powerful Interests in the World; and if they had held out till the following Winter, they must needs have much fatigued our Army, by continual Alarms and Watchings, besides other Difficulties that would have attended us in a Blockade, in which there's no subsisting without continual Supplies of Money, Ammunition, and Victuals; and especially near such a place as *Limerick* then was, the Countrey thereabouts being ruined and exhausted in continuing the Seat of War for two Campaigns; so that abstracting from the deepness of the Soil, and the sharpness of the Winter, as it afterwards proved, unless we had been full as carefully supplied with Necessaries as ever we had been formerly, the whole Design had been still in hazard, besides the loss of Time and Treasure.

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And though we had passed the River ; yet we were still as far from entring the Town as ever. What might have been done some time before, I am no competent Judge of ; but since the *Irish* had it still in their Power to give us the Town, or keep it to themselves, I see no Reason why they ought not to make a Bargain for it, and expect the performance of their Contract, which Their Majesties have been graciously pleased to ratifie under the Great Seal of *England*.

It may rationally be here demanded, why the *Irish* would treat with us for the Town, since they had full as many Foot within as we had in our Army without ; and notwithstanding all the Stories told us by Deserters about the scarcity of Provisions, they had a quantity of the finest *French* Bisket I ever tasted, sufficient for the whole Garrison for two Months ; some of which I saw ; and Commissary-General *Aspole* assured my self and some other Friends, that they had the rest : Upon which I asked him the reason of giving us the Town ? And his Reply was, That if they had been driven by necessity to yield, they must then have accepted what Terms we had pleased to give them ; but since they were not, they had stood upon such as were for the Advantage of their whole Party. But the Truth of it is, the *Irish* were either weary of the War, or jealous of one another, or it may be both ; it being no ill Policy on our side to foment their differences, and make their private Quarrels advance our Publick Service. And as for what happen'd at this Juncture, it's certain that the *French* Lieutenant-Generals were jealous of the *Irish* betraying, or, at least, forsaking them : And 'tis without question they used their Interest, in persuading the *Irish* to hold out till Relief came ; for they knew, considering all things, it had been very improper for us to endeavour the forcing the Town by a Breach. But I imagine Monsieur *D'Uffone's* Case now

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now was much the same, as that of *Don John de Austria* at *Kinsale*, in the Year, 1601. who finding the Town was like to be lost; and that instead of conquering a Kingdom, his Men and himself were like to become a Prey to the Enemy: He then desires a parley with the Lord-Deputy, wherein he mentions, that having found his Lordship, though a sharp and powerful Antagonist, yet an honourable and generous Enemy; and the *Irish* not only weak and barbarous, but (as he feared) perfidious Friends, he therefore desired to depart upon such Terms, befitting such Men of War, as are not by necessity enforced to receive Conditions, but willingly induced for just Respects to disengage themselves, and to relinquish a People by whom their King and Master had been so notoriously abused, if not betray'd. *Pacata Hib.* p. 241. And its probable, that upon some such Motives as those, *Monsieur D'Uffione* consented to the *Irish* Capitulations, though we heard afterwards that the *French* King was so far from thanking him for it, that after some publick *Indignities* he sent him to the *Bastile*.

I humbly therefore am of Opinion, that the Lords-Judges and the General did nothing in this Affair without Command, or, at least, Instructions from Their Majesties; and that it was neither inconsistent with the Rules of Prudence or Policy, to grant the *Irish* what Terms they did, which for the future may help to moderate the Passions of some sort of People.

Nor were the Lords-Justices Proclamations for the bringing in of the Rapparees and others, not included in the Articles less seasonable, since by this means the Kingdom became so calm and quiet all on a sudden, that within one Fortnight after our Army was removed from *Limerick*, a Man might have travelled alone through that whole Kingdom, and that with as great Safety as through any part of *England*; but if this had been delayed, and the reducing those

those Scamperers attempted altogether by force, pray let it be remembred how securely the *Banditto's* of *Italy* have lived between the Power of the King of *Spain*, and that of the Pope, and how many Men in all Countries have prospered in doing mischief ; but especially in *Ireland* where there are so many Difficulties to march an Army, and the *Irish* so well acquainted with the Boggs and other Fastnesses, that it is impossible to beat them sooner out of one place than they'll out-strip you to another, being by constant practice extremely well skilled in making use of those Advantages ; but the aforesaid Articles, and Proclamations have remedied all those Inconveniences, and that Kingdom never enjoyed a more profound Peace than at present, since every Insurrection when it is subdued, makes an Addition to the Power of the Government.

But I'm afraid a good Cause may suffer by ill management ; and therefore as to my business. Towards the latter end of *October*, we had an Account of his Majesty's safe Arrival in *England* from *Flanders*, and that the *English* Parliament met on the 22d. according to their Prorogation.

November the first, all the *Irish* march out of the *English* Town of *Limerick*, and our Men take possession of it. A great many of the *Irish* were shipp'd in the Riber, some on Board the *French* Fleet, and others in some of our Transport-Ships : The number shipp'd in the River, and that march'd towards *Cork* this last time, is said to be 5650. But those that march'd by Land, several of them deferted upon the Road, notwithstanding the care of the *Irish* Officers to secure them ; for they begun to be sensible of the kind Treatment of those that were already returned home, and were sorry to quit a Country they saw already so peaceable. The *Rose of Chester* going down the *Shannon* with 120 *Irish* on Board, was overset amongst the Rocks, and 120 of them drowned. all the *Irish* drowned tho' the Seamen were most of them saved. The *French* Lieutenant-General took this very ill,

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as if done on purpose by the Master, and would needs have him tried for his Life for it ; but it appearing to be a perfect Accident, he was satisfied.

November 1691. Their Horse shipp'd off at Cork, and with them *Daniel Butts*, Esq; Deputy Commissary-General of the *Danish* Forces, to receive their Bills of Exchange, and to see the Transport-Ships returned. November the 3d. the General came from *Kilkenny* to *Dublin*, being met and complemented on the Road by the Nobility, Judges and Gentry, Col. *Byerley's* Horse, and the Prince of *Hesse's* Foot, with the City-Militia, both Horse and Foot, being in Arms to receive him. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Citizens being all in their Formalities, the Canons discharged several times, and all the Demonstrations of Joy that could be made upon such an extraordinary Occasion.

Next Morning His Excellency was waited upon by the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and the other Citizens, the Recorder *Tho: Coote*, Esq; in the Name of the City making a Speech to this effect.

The Recorder's Speech to him. That the City throughly sensible of the Dangers that late-
ly threatned them from an implacable Enemy, that aimed at nothing less than the total Extirpation of the Protestant Religion, and *English* Interest in this Kingdom to the ty-
rannical and slavish Government of the *French* King. And finding themselves by your Excellencies Courage and Con-
duct, not only delivered from those their just Fears, but placed in view of a lasting Peace and Security. And be-
ing zealous to express as much of their Gratitude as their present Circumstances will permit, they are unanimously come to congratulate your Excellency on your great Success; and to assure your Excellency, that tho' they have many Grievances to place to the Account of that Enemy you have so gloriously subdued ; yet there are none they re-
sent

sent more, than the having rendered them unable to raise to your Excellencies Memory those Monuments your Merits and their Obligations challenge; yet what will be wanting in Brass and Marble, they will endeavour to make up by their perpetual Applications to serve your Excellency. And shou'd the rest of the World be so far ungrateful, as to forget what your Excellency has done for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and publick Liberty of *Europe*, this City will, while one stone stands upon another in it, perpetuate to Posterity the glorious Actions you have performed this Campaign.

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To which the General made return, that he was extremely sensible of the Honours and Kindnes the City had tendred him, which he would upon all occasions acknowledge.

Next Day, being the Anniversary of His Majesty's Birth, it was observed with all the Splendour and Greatness imaginable, my Lord Justice *Conning* ¹⁶⁹¹ entertaining the General with most of the Nobility at the Castle of *Dublin*. And the Day following being Gun-Powder Treason, had its usual Observations; where, at the end of the Service appointed for the Day, the Baron *de Ronville*, a *Flemish* Lord, who has lived these five or six years past in this Kingdom, made a solemn Renunciation of the *Romish*, and Profession of the Protestant Religion, and was received at *Christ-Church* by the Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*. After Sermon, the General and State being entertained by my Lord Chancellor *Parter*, the Night concluding with Bonfires, and other Demonstrations of Joy.

An Order was directed to *Abraham Turner*, Esq; Commissary-General of the Musters, to take a Muster of all their Majesties Forces, both *English* and Foreign, now in their Majesties Pay in this Kingdom, dated *Novemb. 5th.* by which Muster all their Accounts were to be stated, and satisfaction

Orders for
Mustering our
Army.

given them for their Arrears of Pay due to them since their first coming into that Countrey. *November* the 9th, Major General *Talmash* who had full Power and Authority to transact all things necessary for the Transporting the *Irish*, and now having seen them all from *Limerick*, and the Town put into as good a Condition as the shortness of the time would allow, he left the place and went to *Dublin*, and from thence to *England*, Lieutenant General *Mackay* being ship'd off some Days before.

Orders for the Danes to Ship off. And now greatest part of Their Majesties Forces in this Kingdom being at liberty to be employed elsewhere, as there was occasion, and His Majesty giving directions to that purpose, the General sent the following Letter,

To the Duke of Wirtenberg Commander in Chief of the Danish Forces.

Having received His Majesties directions for the Embarking with the first opportunity the *Danish Forces* employed in Their Service, within this Kingdom, under your Grace's Command, I desire that your Grace will please to cause the several Battalions of Foot of the said Forces to March forthwith from their respective Quarters to *Cork* and *Kinsale*, and Embark there upon such Ships of War, and Vessels of Burden, as shall be appointed to take them on Board, and Sail with them for the *Downs*, where they will receive further Orders from Their Majesties as to their Transportation to *Ostend*: And of this your Grace will please not to fail, Given at the Castle of *Dublin* the 10th. of *November*, 1691.

Bar. de Ginckell.

Novem-

November
1691.

November the 16th, my Lord *Lisburn's* and my Lord *Drogheda's* Regiments March'd from *Limerick*, lying Encamp'd without the Town ever since the Army left that place, the former went towards *Ross*, and the other towards the North, the poor Men enduring a great deal of Hunger and Hardship in so long a March.

November the 21st, Colonel *Byerley's* and Colonel *Bourcier's* Regiments of Horse were Ship'd off at *Dublin* for *England*, and near this time Colonel *Gordon O'Neal's*, and Colonel *Phelim O'Neal's* Regiments being Encamp'd in the County of *Kerry*, as part of the *Irish* designed for *France*, they came over to our side, as several others did daily, being every Day more and more satisfied with the Indulgence of the Government towards them.

The 23d the *Barbadoes* and *Virginia* Fleets which came in *August* and *September* last, Sailed from *Kinsale* for *England*, under the Convoy of Twelve Men of War, but whether they wanted a Wind all this while, (which seldom happens in that Country,) or that they now took this opportunity of a Cessation, others are more Competent Judges than I shall pretend to. Colonel *Brewer's* and Colonel *Herbert's* Regiments March'd from *Galway* to *Kinsale* there to be Embarked. And Two *French* Men of War, with some of their Ships of Burden, and the last of our Transport Ships in the River, being in all Thirty Sail, went thence for *France*.

Fortifications
at *Mullingar*
and *Ballymore*
demolished.

November the 25th, An Order was Signed for the Demolishing the Fortifications at *Mullingar* and *Ballymore*, the *Irish* Souldiers Quartered in the Neighbouring Garrisons being ordered to assist when required. And several Complaints being made to the Lords Justices, and the General, of the Irregular and Arbitrary Proceedings of some Officers and Souldiers in their Quarters, another Order was

November 1691 was Signed for the holding frequent Court-Martials at *Limerick, Galway, and Athlone*, for the Redressing of such Inconveniencies, and satisfying the Parties aggrieved.

Another Order was likewise Signed to break Six of the youngest Troops of Colonel *Woolsey's* Regiment, according to directions from *England*.

The 28th. Col. *Hale's* Regiment of Foot, and Col. *Langston's* Horse came to *Dublin* in order to be shipp'd for *England*: And now the *Danes* are got to *Cork* and *Kinsale* to be embarked also, according to the former Order sent to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*. In their March they committed some Irregularities, knowing they were to leave the Kingdom without hopes of ever seeing of it more; tho', to do them Justice, they behaved themselves more mildly than Northern Soldiers generally do; especially at their going off, who often prove the Ruine of that Country who employ them. And towards the Close of this Month, some Ships arrive from *England* at *Sligo* with Supplies of Provisions, and other Necessaries very much wanted before in that part of the Country.

December, 1691. Tuesday, December the 1st. Colonel *Monopovillon's* Regiment of Horse came to *Dublin*; and on the 3d. Colonel *Hale's* Regiment set sail for the North of *England*.

The Lords Justices, and the General, being sensible that both the Country and the Souldiers were at a loss, by reason a good part of the Money designed for the Armies Subsistence, was forced to be given to the *Danes*, the *Irish*, and other Publick Uses; they therefore Order a Proclamation to be Published to the effect following.

December
1691.

Charles Porter, Tho. Coningesby , Baron De Ginckel.

WHereas there are several Sums due from the Army A Proclama-
tion.
to Persons in this Kingdom, for their Subsistence
in their Quarters, as also from the said Persons to Their
Majesties for Excise, and other Branches of the Revenue,
which Debts or Arrears the said Persons are not able to
pay, by reason of the Debts due to them from the Army ;
We do therefore require and authorize the several Collectors
of Their Majesties Revenue, to give Discharges to all such
Persons as are indebted to Their Majesties upon any Branch
of the Revenue, or to their Assigns, for so much of their
Arrears respectively as shall be equal to the Sums hereaf-
ter certified to them by the Commissioners of Their Majesties
Revenue , to be deducted and stopt for the said Persons
from the Pay of the Army : And We do hereby direct the
Commissioners for stating the Accounts of the Army, to
transmit Certificates to the said Commissioners of the Reve-
nue, of all such Sums as they have stopt, or shall stop from
the Pay of the Army, writing therein each Person's Name
and Place of Abode, for whom any part of the said Deducti-
ons have been made, and particular Sums stopt for him:
And for so doing, this shall be to the said Collectors a suf-
ficient Warrant and Discharge on their Accounts , as also to
the

the said Commissioners appointed for stating the Accounts of December the Army, a sufficient Warrant.

1691.

Given at Their Majesties Castle of *Dublin*, the Third of December 1691.

By Command of the Lords-Justices, and the Commander in Chief of Their Majesties Forces.

Geo. Clarke.

The General
goes for Eng-
land.

December the 5th. Lieut. General *Ginckel*, being accompanied with the Lords Justices, and most of the Nobility and Gentry in and about *Dublin*, went to *Ringsend*, and there taking leave, he went on board the *Monmouth-Yacht*, which sailed next Morning for *England*.

The Trans-
port-Ships re-
turn from
France.

The 6th. several of the Transport-Ships that went with the first of the *Irish* Forces to *France*, returned to *Cork*, having Landed the Men at *Brest*; and the Week following about Twenty more came back to *Dublin*; they all spoke well of the *French* Treatment of them in accommodating them with several Necessaries which they extreamly wanted; but that the *Irish* did not find themselves so very welcome as they expected to have been; though at their Landing an Express was sent to the late King to *St. Germain*, to give him an Account of it; he seemed to be very well pleased with their coming, and sent the following Letter to Lieut. General *Sheldon*, then the Officer in Chief with the *Irish*.

James

November.

1691.

JAMES Rex.

Having been informed of the Capitulation and Surrender of Limerick, and of the other Places which Remained to us in our Kingdom of Ireland; and of the necessities which forced the Lords Justices, and the General Officers of our Forces thereunto: We will not defer to let you know, and the rest of the Officers that came along with you, that we are extreamly Satisfied with your and their Conduct, and of the Valour of the Souldiers during the Siege, but most Particularly, of your and their Declaration and Resolution to come and Serve where we are: And we assure you, and Order you, to assure both Officers and Souldiers that are come along with you, that we shall never forget this Act of Loyalty, nor fail, when in a Capacity, to give them, above others, Particular Marks of our Favour. In the mean time, you are to Inform them, that they are to Serve under our Command, and by our Commissions; and if we find that a Considerable number is come with the Fleet, it will induce Us to go Personally to see them, and Regiment them; Our Brother the King of France, hath already given Orders to Cloath them, and furnish them with all necessaries, and to give them Quarters of Refreshment: So We bid you heartily Farewell.

Given at Our Court at St. Germaine the 27th. of November, 1691.

But how good soever the Late King's Intentions towards his *Irish* might be, yet it was, and is, the *French* King who Orders every thing in his own Dominions as he Pleases; nor had the *French* any good opinion of the *Irish* at their Landing, as appeared by the Quarters of Refreshment assigned them, which were at first only the Lanes and Hedges about *Brest*, not admitting any of them into the City; and at the same time this Letter was sent

Q

King James's Letter to the Irish.

sent

Their Reception
in France.

November. sent from the Late King, there came Orders from his
 1691. Brother of *France*, to Reduce all or most of the *Irish*
 Officers, the Colonels to Captains, and the Captains to
 Lieutenants, and Ensigns and the Subalterns, to Serge-
 ants or private Centinels; and no wonder, for, what
 ever the *Irish* might hope for before their departure, yet
 it was very improbable, that they, who only were put
 into such Posts in *Ireland* upon point of necessity, because
 they could get no better, should be continued so in *France*,
 which is one of the most Warlike and Refin'd Nations in
 the World; however, this ill Treatment (as the *Irish*
 took it to be) did so exasperate them, that several would
 gladly have returned into *Ireland*, and offered largely for
 their Passage, but were prevented by the strict Guards
 that were set upon them: But they wrote to several of
 their Friends in *Ireland*, giving an Account of their se-
 vere usage, which made several Desert from my Lord
Lucan that were not as yet gone, as more would have
 done, had he not soon after this Advice put them on
 Ship-Board.

One of those Letters sent from *France* after their first Landing; since it gives a full Account of their Reception and Usage, I think it worth my Pains to Transcribe.

SIR,

Never People that left their All, to come hither to Serve, were so meanly received, as those miserable *Irish* were here; they have been much longer than necessary in Disembarking them, and will be at least Three days more, though the Intendant has been pressed with great earnestness to take them a Shoar; when they are Landed they lye in the Fields a Night or two at least, before they are sent into their Quarters, and then they get neither Money nor Cloaths, and but little of any thing else. The Major

Major Generals are made Colonels, the Colonels Captains, November.
 the Majors Lieutenants, and the Captains Serjeants, and 1691.
 many of them but Private Men, insomuch, that as I pass along the Streets, the Souldiers wish they had died in Ireland before they came here, and many of the Officers express themselves to the same purpose, and are extremely dejected and melancholly; some of them hope this will be Regulated, tho' I see no great reason for it, for this day there came a frivolous Complaint against some of Colonel Nugent's Men, and the Intendant threatened to break him for it; and I do not doubt but he'll be as good as his word in a short time. For upon all occasions he uses their Officers with the greatest Insolence and Contempt imaginable. Some of them having complained and told him they hoped to have been advanced here, rather than thus reform'd; he told them, if they did not like it, they might go back, the Ships were in the Harbour that brought them; tho' at the same time the Owners on Board the Transport Ships were ordered not to take any of them on Board again, upon pain of Death. This is all matter of Fact, and a great deal more such usages they meet with, too tedious to relate, &c.

This News spreading abroad in the Country, on Tuesday the 8th of December Colonel Mackdermot's and Colonol Brian Oneal's Regiments, and a day or two after, Colonol Fælix Oneal's, who were part of the Irish Forces designed for France, they quitted their design, and refused to go on Board, returning to Clare, where some of them delivered up their Arms to Colonol Tiffin, and went homewards, in order to their living peaceably in the Country, and the rest were subsisted as the other Irish Forces were.

Those that were now Embarquing had not much better usage on this side the Water, for a great many The Irish se-
 verely dealt withal at their of Embarquing.

December. of them having Wives and Children, they made what shift they cou'd to desert, rather than leave their Families behind to starve, which my Lord *Lucan* and Major General *Waughop* perceiving, they Publish a Declaration, *That as many of the Irish as had a mind to't, should have Liberty to Transport their Families along with themselves.* And accordingly a vast Rabble of all sorts were brought to the Water-side, when the Major General, pretending to Ship the Souldiers in order, according to their Lists, they first carried all the Men on Board, and many of the Women, at the second return of the Boat for the Officers, catching hold to be carried on Board, were dragged off, and through fearfulness, losing their hold, were drowned; but others who held faster had their fingers cut off, and so perished in sight of their Husbands, or Relations, tho' those of them that did get over wou'd make but a sad Figure, if they were admitted to go to the late Queen's Court at *St. Germaine*.

The Sheriffs for the several Counties in *Ireland* were prick'd, and the same day all the *Irish* Prisoners that were in *Newgate* in *Dublin*, were released; and my Lord *Lucan* finding that he had Ships enough for all the *Irish* that were like to go with him, the Number that went before, and these Shipt at this time, being according to the best computation about 12000 of all sorts, he Signs the following Releasement.

*My Lord Lu-
can's Release
to the General.*

WHereas, by the Articles of *Limerick*, Lieutenant General *Ginckell*, Commander in Chief of the English Army, did engage himself to furnish ten thousand Tun of Shipping for the Transporting of such of the Irish Forces to *France*, as were willing to go thither; and to facilitate their passage, to add four thousand Tun more in case the French Fleet did not come to this Kingdom to take off part of those Forces; and whereas the French Fleet

Fleet has been upon the Coast, and carried away some of the said Forces, and the Lieutenant General has provided Ships for as many of the rest as are willing to go as aforesaid. I do hereby declare that the said Lieutenant General is released from any Obligation he lay under from the said Articles, to provide Vessels for that purpose; and do quit and renounce all farther Claim and Pretension on this Account, &c. Witness my Hand, this 8th of December, 1691.

December.
1691.

Witnesses,

Mark Talbot.
F. H. de la Forest
Susannell.

Lucan.

December the 20th, Colonel Langston's, and Colonel Monpouillon's Horse, and the Prince of Hess's Foot Shipp'd at Dublin, for England; and Colonel Newhewson's Horse, and the Brandenburgh Foot march'd into Dublin. The 22d my Lord Lucan, and the rest of the Irish Great Officers went on Board the Transport Ships, leaving Hostages at Cork for the return of the said Ships. And at the same time, Colonel Hastings's, Sir David Collier's, Colonel Brewer's, and Colonel Herbert's Regiments were Shipp'd for England; the Government taking all possible Care to Discharge the Kingdom of both Armies, who had already brought it into a very low Condition,

All the Irish go off, except the Hostages.

December the 24th, an Order was given out to the Comiliary General of the Musters, or his Deputies, to take an exact Muster of all the Irish Forces now in Arms, that had come over to our side since the beginning of the Truce at Limerick, and they had Quarters allotted them in several places of the Kingdom; but behaved themselves after their usual rate;

An Order for Mustering all the Irish that came over to us.

for

December. for tho' they had Changed their King, yet not their Customs ; for they Taxed the People where they Quartered, as they pleased themselves ; Imprison'd several, and Released others as they saw good ; forced the Markets, and did a great many other Illegal Tricks : Insomuch, that Complaint being made to the Lords Justices of those Disorders, they writ a Letter to my Lord *Kingston*, December 31. Desiring his Lordship to do them, the Country, and His Majesty what Service he cou'd, in suppressing those Irregularities, and to have the Court Martials that were Ordered in several Places, put in Execution.

The Marching-Hospital broke. January the 6th, there being no further use of a Marching Hospital in this Kingdom, and the same being expensive to the Government, an Order was given out for the discharging several Physicians, and others, that attended on the same. And now Their Majesties Pleasure being known about the *Irish*, Orders and Instructions were directed to Colonel *Foulk*, Colonel *St. Johns*, and Brigadeer *Villers*, to view and discharge all the *Irish* Forces, except 1400 Choice Men, the form of their Commissions for it, ran thus.

By the Lords Justices of *Ireland*.

Orders, and
Instructions for
breaking the
Irish Forces.

WHEREAS Their Majesties are pleased to Direct, that there be an immediate Regulation of such of the Regiments, whether Horse, Foot, or Dragoons, of the late Irish Army as came in, and submitted to Their Obedience. And We being well assured of the Care, Diligence, and Circumspection, as well as of the Loyalty, and Readiness of Colonel John *Foulks* to do Their Majesties good and faithful Service, do hereby appoint him to make the said Regulation, and Reform, &c.

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1692.

The *Irish* being by the said Instrument commanded to obey him, and our own Troops and Militia to observe his Directions in their Marching from place to place, as he saw occasion. The said Colonel *Foulk* and the other Officers aforesaid, had Directions to assure the *Irish*, both Officers and Souldiers, of Their Majesties Gracious Disposition towards them, tho' the present State of their Affairs wou'd not admit of any more than 1400 Men to be employed at this time, and those to be divided into two Battalions, Commanded by Colonel *Wilson* and *Balderock O Donnel*. And that the Officers that were not willing to go home, might attend those two Battalions, where they wou'd have Subsistence till better provided for. As for those that returned to their Habitations, and desired to live peaceably at home, if they were Souldiers, and had their Arms, nine Shillings a piece was ordered them; but if without Arms, they had six Shillings. The Officers had a Fortnights Subsistence each, to bear their Charges home. These Orders and Instructions bore Date the 11th and 12th of January, pursuant to which, as soon as it cou'd conveniently be done, Colonel *Wilson's*, Colonel *O Ryley's*, Colonel *Nugent's*, Lord *Iveigh's*, Lord *Dillon's*, Colonel *Cormack Oneal's*, Colonel *Fælix Oneal's*, Colonel *Geoghegan's*, Colonel *O Donnel's*, Colonel *Rourk's*, Colonel *Oxborough's*, Colonel *Lutteril's* Horse; Colonel *Tho. Burk's* Troop of Horse, Sir Colonel *John Burk's* Troop. Briggadier *Clifford's* Dragoons, Colonel *Mackgenni's* Dragoons, were all broke by Colonel *Foulk*. In *Munster* also Colonel *Corbet's* Horse were broke by Brigadier *Villers*. And Colonel *Mackdermot's* Foot, Colonel *Bryan Oneal's*, Colonel *Rob. Purcel's*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Cahan's* were broke by Colonel *St. Johns*, only two Battalions being drawn out of the whole, as is said, and had Quarters assigned them in the Barrony of *Muskerry*.

January. Muskerry. These *Irish* had the Name of a great many Regiments, but scarce an hundred Men in each, one with another, for they were thin at best; and several of them were gone into *France*, having the Names of Regiments there also. But after some time, all the *Irish* not laying down their Arms, an Order was directed to Sir *Francis Hambleton*, Governour of *Donegal*, to break some of *O Donnel's* Men then in that Country, which was done accordingly.

There hapned about this time two Violent Flashes of Lightning and Claps of Thunder at *Kinsale*; by the latter of which the *Portsmouth Frigatt* suffered great damage, having her Main Top and Main Yard broke to pieces, and the Main Mast split for twelve foot downwards, breaking throw the Larboard side of the Ship twelve foot in length, and did some other mischief, tho only one Man was hurt by it.

Nigh the same time the Officers belonging to the Train of Artillery. The Waggoners and others of that Society were broke, as being no farther useful in this Kingdom. And

The Oaths taken according to the new Act of Parliament. January 23, being the first day of the Term, the Lords Justices came to the Court of *King's-Bench*, and there took the Oaths to Their Majesties, and Subscribed the Declaration required by the late Act of Parliament in *England*, as did also several of the Nobility: Whence the Lord Chancellor returned to his High Court of Chancery, where the Judges of the several Courts, Masters of Chancery, King's Council, the Lawyers, and several other Persons of different Qualities, and Employments, took the prescribed Oaths, &c. For the Act of Parliament being Reprinted at *Dublin*, and spread abroad by the Lords Justices Order, and requiring all Persons whatever, in any Employment, within Thirty Miles of that City, to take the said Oath, and subscribe

scribe the Declaration before the end of *Hillary Term*, and no exception being made, or excuse allowed for Men's being Sick, or otherwise disabled, several were brought up to Town with great difficulty, and the Courts daily throng'd, 'till the Term was over.

Great quantities of Wheat, and other Grain, were ordered from *Cork*, and *Kingsale*, to furnish the Stores of *Limerick*, that part of the Countrey being now very much put to it for want of Bread, as being the seat of War this two years past. The 25th Colonel *Mathew's Dragoons* were Shipp'd at *Belfast*, as Sir *John Lanier's* Horse had been some time before ; and on the 27th, my *Lord Portland's* Horse were Shipp'd at *Passage*, near *Waterford*.

A Declaration was Publish'd by the Lords Justices, *A Declaration, forbidding the buying Debenters, or Arrears*, forbidding any Officer, Clerk, or other Person what-
ever, belonging to, employ'd in, or depending on their Majesties Treasury, either by himself, or any other, directly, or indirectly, to buy any Arrears, or Debenters due to any Officer, or Souldier, or any other Persons who have been employ'd in Their Majesties Service during this present War, upon pain of losing the benefit of such Contract, or Agreement, as also of being dismissed their Employments, and of being declared uncapable of being Employed in the Treasury for the future : The buying of such Debenters being adjudged dishonourable to Their Majesties Service, and Government, and to the loss of the persons to whom the same are payable.

And nigh the same time, another Order was sent out, Commanding all Colonels, and others in Their Majesties Army, who had entertain'd any *Irish* in their respective Regiments, Troops, or Companies, forthwith to dismiss them, and not to keep any one *Irish Papist* Another Order to turn out all the Irish Papists out of our Regiments.

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‘Papist under their Command, upon pain of having such Regiments broke, where any such were found.

A great Frost began *January* the 19th, and is now so violent, that Multitudes of the poor People, (and especially of the *Irish*) perish for Cold: The Lords Justices, and Council, very Charitably order all the Poor then in and about the City of *Dublin*, to be taken up, and put into several Convenient Houses, being in all 640 odd, who were provided for with Mear, and Fire; without which Care, several hundreds must have perished in the Streets: And yet a great many of them had been so used to that Trade of Begging, that the being provided for with Necessaries, and Confin'd to a Place, was uneasie to them; so that several stole out, and fell to Begging again. But this Charitable Care was not taken in other parts of the Kingdom; so that a Man might every where see a great many Objects of Pity, and Misery, and they continue so to this very day.

Some time before this, the *Danes* were Shipp'd, as is said, having four Men of War, and 46 other Vessels to Transport them; but being driven back by contrary Winds, and kept in the Harbour by stress of weather, a new supply of Provisions was Ordered them. Two Proclamations were Publish'd at *Dublin*; one Commanding all Persons that were not qualifid by the ‘Articles of *Limerick*, and *Galway*, (which were Noble-Men, and Gentlemen, who were Houte-keepers, and have Estates of Freehold, of one Hundred Pounds a year; which by the said Proclamation was declared to be the qualification of the Persons Compriz'd in the ‘said Articles) to deliver up their Arms of all sorts, before the Tenth of *March*, and if they failed therein, to be prosecuted with the utmost severity o' Law. And ‘whosoever shou'd discover any Fire Arms so detain'd, alter

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after the 10th of March, shou'd have Ten Shillings Reward, and Five Shillings for every discovery of other Arms, to be paid him by the Sheriff of the City, or Justice of the Peace, to whom such Discovery shou'd be made; the same to be repaid by the Sheriff of the County, and allowed in his Accounts in the Exchequer.

And the Persons in whose Custody such Arms are found, shall lose the benefit of the said Articles, and be bound over to the next Assizes, or Sessions which shall first happen. And all Persons who had Arms before the first day of November last, being not qualified to keep them, and shall not give a satisfactory Account how they have disposed of them, shall be look'd upon as guilty of a Contempt against the said Proclamation. And the Sheriffs of the respective Counties were to give an Account from time to time of what Arms were brought in to the Clerk of the Council, or his Deputy. And that all Persons that were qualify'd to keep Arms, might wear the same, without being affronted, or have the same taken from them on any pretence; each Person was to apply himself to the Lords Justices for a License for that purpose, which was to be granted without any Fee or Reward whatever. Which Proclamation was to be publish'd three Market-days successively, in each Town in Ireland, and then affixed.

Dated the 4th of February. 1692.

The other Proclamation was to forbid all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, and other Magistrates whatever to presume so far upon their Authority, as to meddle with the Property, Right, Title, or Possession of the Estate or Goods of any of Their Majesties Subjects, other than as by due Course of Law they are required, or can justify. By which Proclamation, some of the Irish that had been wronged, were set to rights,

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and satisfied ; tho' they were not so forward in obeying the former, in delivering up their Arms, a very small return being made through the whole Kingdom, they keeping as yet some thousands of all sorts of Arms still concealed, which I hope will effectually be taken care of in time.

The weather was now so violent, that the *Adventure of London* was cast away going to *Dublin*, and several other Ships lost in and about that Bay. And the *Swallow*, one of Their Majesties Ships, was forced a-ground nigh *Charles-Fort* at *Kingsale*, and there founder'd, tho' all the Men were saved, except two.

February the 12th, *John Stone* Esq; being dead, and *Captain South* employed elsewhere in the Army, a new Commission was granted, putting in their Places *Colonel Foulks*, and *William Palmer* Esquires, Commissioners, for stating the Accounts of the Army. And nigh the same time, the Commissary General was sent into *England*, with all the Muster Rolls.

February 16. the weather breaking up, part of my *Lord Oxford's* Horse driven back by stress of weather, *Lieutenant General Ginckel's*, and *Major General Ruyvigney's* Horse, with the Prince's *Ann's* Foot, were all Shipp'd for *England*. The same day *Lieutenant General Scravemore* went on Board, as did *Brigadier Leveson* in a day or two after. *Colonel Coy's* Horse also are Shipp'd off at *Belfast*, and the Garrison of *Athlone*, that had been very uneasy to the Officers and Souldiers all Winter, by reason they had no shelter, except some small Huts of their own making, was now relieved.

February the 20th, the Commissioners of the *Ordnance* had an Order directed to them, to send all the Stores of *Ammunition*, and other Stores of War that could be spared out of the Magazines for *England*, to be

Arms and Am-
munition sent
for England.

be employed elsewhere in Their Majesties Service; and accordingly a vast quantity of Arms and other Utensils of War were Shipt off.

February 28, Captain *Townsend* of the Earl of *Meath's* Regiment, took eight or ten *French Men* Prisoners, who had come a Shoar from a Privateer nigh *Castle-Haven*; and we had an Account from *England* that His Majesty had Created Lieutenant General *Ginckel* Baron of *Agbrim*, and Earl of *Athlone*.

February 26, An Order was directed to Colonel *Foulk* to break my Lord *George Hambleton's* Regiment which was done accordingly in some days after; 150 'of the Men being sent for *England*, and the rest entertained in the Earl of *Drogheda's*, Brigadier *Stuart's*, Sir *Henry Balfass*, and Colonel *Foulk's* Regiments.

March the first, a *Pass* was given out for a Ship to go to *France* with the Hostages left at *Cork*, and other sick Officers and Souldiers, according to the Articles of *Limerick*. And on the third, another Order was granted to Colonel *Foulk* for the raising five Companies of 100 Men in each, of the *Irish*, all the subaltern Officers to be of those Reformed in Colonel *Wilson's* and *O'Donnell's* Battalions; and the whole to be commanded by my Lord *Iveagh*, and employed in the Emperor's Service. And March the fifth, an Order was directed to Mr. *Foliot Sherizy*, chief Deputy Commissary, to Disband the Troop of *Provoes*, which was done accordingly.

March the 17th. Lieutenant General *Ruvigny* Landed from *England*, being made Commander in chief of the Army left in *Ireland*, and Created by his Majesty, Lord *Viscount Galway*: and two days after, his Lordship and the Lord *Viscount Blessington* were Sworn of Their Majesties Privy Council, as the Bishop of *Kildare* had been some time before.

Lieutenant General *Ruvigny*
lands in *Ireland*.

And

1692, And March the 23d. the following Proclamation was
Published, declaring the War of Ireland to be at an end.

WILLIAM REX.

WHEREAS by An Act made in Our Parliament at Westminster, in the First Year of Our Reign, Intituled, An Act for the better Security and Relief of Their Majesties Protestant Subjects of Ireland, it was (among other things) Enacted, that all and every Person and Persons whatsoever of the Protestant Religion, should be absolutely Discharged and Acquitted of, and from the Payment of all Quit-Rents, Crown-Rents, Composition-Rents, Hearth-Money, Twentieth Parts, Payments, and other Chief Rents arising or Payable out of any Houses, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Rectories, Tyths, or Church-Livings, incurring or becoming due to us at any time after the Five and Twentieth Day of December in the Year of Our Lord, One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty Eight, until the said Kingdom of Ireland shou'd be by us declared to be reduced, and the War and Rebellion there ended. We have now, pursuant to the said Act of Parliament, thought fit (by, and with the Advice of Our Privy Council) to Issue this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby Declaring that the said Kingdom of Ireland is reduced to Our Obedience, and the War and Rebellion there ended. And We do hereby Will and Require, that all and Singular such Rents and Payments, and all other Duties payable to the Crown, which shall henceforth grow, incur, and become due, be duly answered and payed to us in such manner, and under such Penalties and Forfeitures as if the said Act had not been made.

Given at Our Court at Kensington, the Third Day of March, 1692, in the Fourth Year of Our Reign.

God save the King and Queen.

After

A Proclamati-
on declaring the
Wars of Ireland
ended.

After which time little of moment happened, save that the Lords Justices, by Directions from Their Majesties, appointed a time for those that pretended to the Benefit of the Articles of *Limerick* or *Galway*, to give in their Names, and make good their claims by the 20th of *February*, which time was, by Proclamation, enlarged to the first of *April*, and afterwards to the 15th. *Wednesday* the sixth of *April* was appointed the first Day to begin upon those Claims, all those concerned being to enter their Names sometime before, with the Clerk of the Council; which Names were to be posted up, at least, ten Days before their Cause was to be heard, their Claims being to be made out by at least three Credible Witnesses, one of which was to be a Protestant. Accordingly on the sixth of *April* the Council met upon this Affair, and continued every *Monday*, *Wednesday*, and *Friday*, so to do; which was a much easier way, and more to the Interest and Advantage of the *Irish*, than any Court of Claims erected only for that purpose, cou'd have been.

CHAP.

1692.

C H A P. XI.

A brief Account of the former and present Circumstances of Ireland. The Division of it into Provinces and Counties, Bishopricks and Parishes. The Soil of Ireland. Sir John Davis his Reasons why Ireland was so long in being entirely subjected to the Crown of England. What Tanistry is. This a reason why the Irish did not improve their Country. Of Fosterings and Cisternings. A Brief Estimate of the Expence of the former Wars of Ireland. An Essay towards the reckoning the Charge of this last. The former evils still remain. The Interest of the King and People of England in general to advance the Power and Trade of the English in Ireland. The Interest also of the Roman Catholicks themselves, whether of English or Irish Extraction, to advance the Power of England in that Kingdom. Two main Objections answered. Religion in the first place to be taken care of. An Invasion from France upon that Kingdom, England or Scotland, at this juncture very improbable. A Remark upon the last that endeavour'd it.

I Have now given you all that I know of this last unhappy Irish Wars, that is fit at this juncture to be sent to the Press. And it's more possibly than some Men will thank me for, or yet the following Remarks that I am going to make upon the Affairs of that Kingdom, and its present Circumstances; upon which, if any please to throw away another half Hour, tho' they find nothing worth taking notice of: Yet I hope they'll have no Reason to be angry, since Opinion in things indifferent is free to all Men: And we

we have no better way to conjecture what may be hereafter, than by comparing our thoughts of it with what now is, and formerly has been.

Ireland, next to *Great Britain*, is the greatest Island in *Europe*, esteemed by *Sir William Petty* at Ten Millions Five Hundred Thousand *Irish Acres*, and by others at Ten Millions Eight Hundred and Sixty Eight Thousand Acres, which they reckon to be above 17 Millions of *English Measure* (121 *Irish Acres* making about 196 *English*) and yet *Sir William Petty* computes the *Irish Acres* to make not above 14 Millions of *English*; accounting nigh two Millions of Acres in Mountains, Bogs, Strands, and other unprofitable Land, a great part of which, however, is capable of improvement, and makes *Ireland* in circumference almost equal to *England*; *Wales* excepted.

The Latitude of *Ireland* North is said to be parallel with *Dumfries* in *Scotland*; and South to *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*; its Longitude West to the utmost point of *Ire Conaught* in the County of *Galway*; and East to the head of *Houth*.

The Kingdom for many Ages past has been divided into four Provinces, three of which before that Division, were commonly distinct Monarchies, and sometimes the fourth, which by degrees, as the *English Interest* prevailed, were subdivided into Counties, of which there are thirty two at this day in all the Kingdom. The Provinces are *Leinster*, *Munster*, *Conaught*, and *Ulster*.

Its Division into Provinces and Counties.

Leinster has eleven Counties, *Dublin*, *Wicklow* and *Wexford* on the Sea-side, *East Meath*, *West Meath*, and *Carlow* within Land (tho' with a corner reaching to the Sea,) *Kilkenny*, *Kildare*, *Kings-County*, *Queens-County* and *Longford*, are Inland Counties also.

Munster has six Counties, two within Land, as *Tipperary* and *Limerick*; but *Waterford*, *Cork*, *Kerry*, and *Clare* all on the Coast.

1692. *Conaught* has *Galway*, *Mayo*, and *Sligo* towards the Sea, with *Roscommon* and *Leitrim* within Land.

Ulster has six Counties on the Sea-side, *Fermanagh*, *Donegal*, *London-Derry*, *Antrim*, *Down*, and *Louth*; and four within Land, as *Cavan*, *Monaghan*, *Armagh*, and *Tyrone*.

*Into Arch-Bish-
shopricks and
Bishopricks.* In the Year 1151, (according to *Cambden*) *Christianus*, Bishop of *Lismore*, Legate of all *Ireland*; and *Johannes Paperon* Cardinal Priest (according to *Sir James Ware*) brought four Palls from *Eugenius* the third, and held a Synod, or Council, at *Kells*, as some say, or at *Mellefort*, according to others; whereat were present the Bishops, Abbots, Kings, Captains, and Elders of *Ireland*, when by General consent four Arch-Bishopricks were Constituted, *Armagh*, *Dublin*, *Cashel*, and *Tuam*; under whom there were 34 other Bishopricks, viz. ten subordinate to *Armagh*, five to *Dublin*, twelve to *Cashel*, and seven to *Tuam*. But now they are reduced to 21 in all, and those divided into 2278 Parishes, and those in a political capacity have eight that are called Cities, *Dublin*, *Kilkenny*, *Waterford*, *Cork*, *Cashel*, *Clogher*, *Limerick*, and *London-Derry*; besides about ninety Boroughs and Corporations.

*The Soil of Ire-
land.* As to the Natural Advantages of *Ireland*, many People can confirm what *Sir John Davis*, a Man of Wit, Learning, and Prudence, has writ several Years ago, viz. That having been in all the Provinces of that Kingdom, he had observed the good Temperature of the Air, the fruitfulness of the Soil, the pleasant and commodious Seats for Habitation, the safe and large Ports and Havens lying open for Traffick unto all the West parts of the World, the long Inlets of many Navigable Rivers; and so many great Lakes, and fresh Ponds within Land, as the like are not to be seen in any part of Europe; the rich Fishings and Wild

Wild Fowl of all Kinds. And lastly, the Bodies and Minds of the People Endowed with extraordinary Abilities of Nature.

1692.

And however it has become a Proverb in *England*, to call a dull unthinking Fellow, a Man of an *Irish* Understanding, yet for any thing appears to the contrary, they have acted a Prudent part for at least these Five Hundred Years; nor is their crafty insinuating wheedling way as yet any thing abated; and whosoever will look amongst the Natives of that Countrey at this juncture, will probably find some Knaves, but as few Fools as in any other Kingdom of the World.

But since I have mention'd so Judicious an Author, as *Sir John Davis*, I suppose it will not be unpleasant to hear some of his Reasons why it has been so long a time before *Ireland* was entirely subject to the Crown of *England*, and why the *English* were more apt to run into the *Irish* Barbarous Customs, and imitate their way of living, than on the Contrary: As to the first of these, he mentions four main defects of the Armies, that at different times were sent out of *England*, to Conquer *Ireland*. 1. They were for the most part too weak for a Conquest. 2. When otherwise (as in both the Journies of *Richard the Second*,) they were too soon broken up, and dissolved. 3. They were ill paid; and, 4. They were ill Govern'd; a necessary Consequence of the former. Which Inconveniences happen'd, because the King's of *England* for many Ages together were generally otherwise employ'd; either in the Holy Land, or in *France*, or in their Wars with *Scotland*, or else in that unhappy feud between the two Houses of *Lancaster*, and *Tork*: So that they cou'd neither attend the *Irish* War in their own Persons, nor spare a Competency either of Men, or Money, to compleat the Work, which was only begun in *King Henry the Second's* days,

The Irish as
such Fools as
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1692.

rather by a few private Adventurers, than by any thing that had the face of a Royal Army. And besides, the standing Forces were seldom or never reinforced out of *England* (that is in the times towards the beginning of the *English* Government) only the King's Treasure there was spent, and wholly spent in the King's service; so that in the Reigns of four successive Kings, *Viz. Henry III. Edward I. Edward II. and Edward III.* between the Receipts and Allowances, this Entry is commonly found in the *Pipe-Rolls*, *In Thesauro nihil*; for the Affairs of the State, and those of the Army spent *all*, and that *all* was not sufficient. In the Reign therefore of King *Edward II.* *Maurice Fitz Thomas Earl of Desmond*, as his Ancestor was the first of *English* Race that took part with the *Irish* against his Native Country Men, he being now Commander in Chief of the Army against the *Scots* then Invading *Ireland*, he only changed the name of the Ancient *Irish* Custom called *Bonaught*, but began to practice the thing it self under the names of *Coigne* and *Livery* and *Pay*, that is, he and his Army took Horse Meat, and Mans Meat, and also Money at their pleasure, without any satisfaction, so much as of a Bill. And this afterwards proved the general fault of all the Chief Commanders in this Kingdom, for finding the advantage of this way of proceeding, they begun to oppress the Poor *English* heavily, who rather than endure it, would give them a part of their Land to have the rest free, which Land so given the Lords put *Irish* Tenants upon, and encouraged them in several particulars, that so they might pay their Rent. And then the Kings of *England* not being at leisure to attend the War in their own Persons, they could do no less in Honour, than give a great part of the Land to those that Conquered it. But those Scopes of Land given at first to the *English* Adventurers were generally too large, and the Priviledges

viledges so great, that they began to set up for themselves, no fealty being reserved to the Crown by the Tenants, but only to their Lords, which first made them Proud, and then Contentious. Upon which account to strengthen their Parties, they Allyed themselves with the *Irish*, and drew them in to dwell amongst them, and not having *English* Tenants enough for their Lands, they were obliged to take *Irish*: By living amongst whom, and having their Servants and Nurses generally of such; they, and their Children, by degrees became of the same stamp; and having no other means to pay or reward the *Irish* that were of their Faction, they suffered them to take *Coygne*, and *Livery* from the *English* Freeholders, which Oppression was so intolerable, as that the better sort were forced to quit their Free-holds, and flye into *England*, never returning more, though Laws were made in both Kingdoms to remand them, and the rest that remained, soon became degenerate, and meer *Irish*.

Then the *English* Lords finding the *Irish* Exactions to be more profitable than the *English* Rents and Services, and loving the *Irish* Tyranny which was tied to no Rules of Law, or Honour, better than a just and lawful Seigniory, did reject and cast off the *English* Laws and Government, and come with the *Irish* Customs assuming their very Names also; which Customs of theirs, were all Enemies to the *English* Interest in this Countrey. Whether it was that called *Tanistry*, What Tanistry signifies. that is, when any of their Chieftains, or Heads of Families died, then the Goods of the whole Sept or Family were to be divided a-new; nor did the Sons always succeed, but such of the Kindred as could purchase the Election by strong hand; by which, there cou'd be no encouragement, either to Build, or Plant, or indeed to have any thing but from hand to mouth, since

1692. since they knew not who might reap the fruits of their Labour. For tho' it's laid the *Irish* received the Christian Faith above twelve hundred years ago, and were lovers of Musick, Poetry, and all kinds of Learning ; Possessing also a Countrey abounding with all things necessary for the life of Man, yet did they never build Houses of Brick, or Stone, before the time of King Henry II. (some few poor Religious Houses excepted) and when afterwards they saw the English build Castles, they only did it for their Chiefs, and not for themselves ; nor endeavoured they to imitate the English in any sort of Improvements, which being against all common Sense and Reason, must needs be imputed to their Customs, in making all their Possessions uncertain, and wou'd have hindred the improvement of their Countrey to the Worlds end, if those Customs had not been abolish'd by the Law of *England*.

Cosherings.

The *Irish* had also *Cosherings*, *Visitations*, and *Progresses* made by their Chief, and his Followers, among his Tenants. Sessings for his Horses, Dogs, and Boys ; Cuttings, Tallages, and spendings at his pleasure, which made him an absolute Tyrant, and his Vassals poor Slaves. Add to these their *Fosterings*, the *Irish* of all People having the greatest inclination to Nurse other Mens Children, because *Fostering* amongst them, is always reputed a stronger alliance than Blood ; and when once they have Nursed a Child in any Family, they think themselves so near Related thereto, that they are obliged to perform whilst they live, all the faithful Services in their Power, and from whence ever after they expect a Supply of what Necessaries they have occasion for, and as often as they have a mind to call for them. Then they had *Gossiped*, or *Compaternity* ; which, tho' by the Canon Law a Spiritual affinity, yet no Nation ever made so Religious account of it as the *Irish*. Now these, and

*Reasons why
the Irish did
not improve
their Countrey
formerly.*

and many other such like Customs, made strong Parties, and Factions, whereby the Great Men were enabled to oppress their Inferiours, and to oppose their Equals. Besides which, their frequent Divorces, their Promiscuous Begetting of Children, and neglect of Lawful Matrimony, were no small Temptations for vicious Minds to degenerate, and fall into the like Extreams.

These were the *Irish* Customs which the *English* Colonies did embrace, after they had rejected the Civil and Honourable Laws of *England*, which especially fell out in the later end of King *Edward* the Second, and the beginning of King *Edward* the Third, proving of very Fatal Consequence to the *English* Interest in that Kingdom; the degenerate *English* being always harder to subdue, than the Natives; for tho' their Minds and Manners were alter'd, yet they had so much English Blood left in their Veins, as gave them English Courage, and Resolution; whereby the *Fitz Geralds*, and Earl of *Desmond*'s Rebellions were worse than those of meer *Irish*.

Then Sir *John Davis* proves out of several Records, that in former times most of the Inhabitants were not the King's Tenants, but derived their Titles from the *Irish* and *English* Noblemen, who kept an awe and dependance upon them; for tho' the Kings of *England* were formerly owned as Lords of *Ireland*, yet the Lords of *Ireland* Ruled as Kings, and were so stiled by the Kings of *England* themselves, as appears by the Concord made between *Henry* 2. and *Rotherick O Connor* King of *Conaught* in the Year 1175, Recorded by *Hoveden* in this Form, *Hic est finis & Concordia inter Dominum Regem Angliae Henricum filium imperatricis & Rodoricum Regem Conactae, scilicet, quod Rex Angliae concessit praedicto Roderico Legeo Homini suo ut sit Rex sub eo, paratus ad servitium suum, ut homo suus, &c.* And King *Henry* the II. making *William*

*Irish Lords
formerly stiled
Kings.*

William Fitz Audelm his Lieutenant of Ireland, he hath it thus in his Commission; *Archiepiscopis Episcopis, Regibus, Baronibus, & omnibus fidelibus suis in Hibernia salutem.* King John also granted divers Characters unto the Irish Lords, under the Title of Kings; and so did Henry the III d. unto a Petty-King of Thoumond, *Rex Regi Thoumond, Salutem, &c.* Those Governed the People by their *Brehon Laws*; they made their own Magistrates, and Officers; they Pardoned, and Punished all Malefactors, and made War and Peace one with another, without Controulment.

After which several Attempts were made, and Rebellions, more or less, broke out in every King's Reign. And to omit those of Perkin Warbeck and others, in the Reign of Henry 7. The Rebeilion of Fitz Gerald and the rest of that Faction in King Henry 8th's time, in the Year 1535. cost England Forty Thousand Pounds, a Summ reputed so great in those days, and so much disturbed that blustering Prince, that he called the appeasing this Rebellion a *New Conquest*, and put the Question to his Council, how *Ireland* should be managed to bear the Charge of its own preservation, and whether by Act of Parliament every Man's Estate should not be made liable to contribute its proportion? or wehther by Virtue of this *New Conquest*, the King might not seize on all the Estates of that Kingdom Temporal and Spiritual? Cox 242.

A Statute against Absentees. But tho' this woud not do, yet he found out another way to make a Statute against Absentees, whereby a great part of the County of Carlow was taken from the Duke of Norfolk, and other Lands from other great Men, and from some Monasteries in *England* that held Land in *Ireland*, for that by the absence of these, and the neglecting their own private Estates (whereby the *Irish*

Irish daily gained ground) they brought the Publick into danger. However this Rebellious Spirit continued in *Ireland* all Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, even to the ninth of King *James* the First, as Sir *John Davis* observes; but if he had lived in our days, he wou'd have seen good reasons to say it was always the *Genius of the People*. And one Mr. *Lawrence* has since that, endeavoured to prove that *Ireland* was never intirely subjected to the Crown of *England*, nor the Lands properly called the King's Lands, until the Act of Settlement passed in the 12th Year of King *Charles* the Second; for before this, the Chief Inhabitants in all Cities and Towns were Papists, as Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, &c, by which means that Party was wonderfully encouraged and strengthened; and besides, the *Irish* before the late Rebellion, were by far the greatest Proprietors, tho' afterwards they enjoyed not much above a fifth part of the whole (that is in propriety) by which means, and the industrious Management of some of the Chief *Governours*, the *English* Interest was very far advanced in this Country before the death of King *Charles* the Second; for tho' some Clouds arose before, yet the Sun shone pretty clear, till the Death of that Monarch made it more than Twilight with the *English* of that Country; and then the late dark Night of Confusion approached so suddenly, that it gave them no time to set things in Order, till they cou'd not in a manner see where they were a going: This put a full stop to the Career of all their Prosperity, for a great many considerable Buildings, and other Improvements in and about *Dublin*, and other places in the Kingdom, being pretty far advanced at that Juncture, they were left off very abruptly, the Workman throwing away his Tools, and the Husbandman neglecting his Plow at the News, as if they had then foreseen their approaching Misery, and were amazed to find the *Irish* arm so fast on all hands, by which

A Continuation of the History

they were assured that other sorts of Weapons than they had used for the Country's improving, were soon like to grow more in fashion, and that to the undoing of what themselves had so honestly endeavoured to make up. So that the *Irish* were not then, nor indeed are as yet so subdued, as that no further Storm may ever be feared to arise from that corner.

And certainly the not thorowly endeavouring to make *Ireland* bear the Charge of its own preservation,

Ireland ~~should~~ ^{be put into a} *Condition to bear its own Burden*. has in all Ages been very much to the disadvantage of *England*. But to carry this no higher than the Year

1595, the time of *Tyrone's* Rebellion, which *Cambden* in his Annals tells us cost 1198717*l.* to suppress.

Or if we compute the Charge of its first Conquest, and the suppressing the several Rebellions from that time till this

of *Tyrone's*, to cost but double as much as this did, (as they needs must, since before that, *Ireland* never enjoyed

seven Years peace at one time.) Then, I say, long e're this, all those Rebellions had been forgot, and the Trade and Product of *Ireland* more than trebly recompenced

England for her former Blood and Treasure: But as the Degenerate *English* grew more and more in love with the *Irish* and their Customs, and so took their part against *England*:

The Charges encreased to more prodigious Sums; and they generally make use of it as a great Argument for what they did of late, that it

was the Blood and Treasure of their Ancestors that first gained that Kingdom to the *English* Interest, and therefore tho' they differed in Opinion, yet it was very un-

reasonable that they should be quite excluded from sharing in the Government with those that were of a much later Date. But this Objection is of an older

standing than either the former War, or this last; for we are told that so great Heats have arose formerly

between the *English* of Birth, and the *English* of Blood in *Ireland*; that they held different Parliaments, and

endeavoured by all means Possible to ruine one another; But 'tis observ'd by very Learned Men in this Kingdom, that tho' the *English* have often fallen out amongst themselves, and there were generally found in many places of the Kingdom such of *English* extraction, as would joyn with the *Irish* against *England*; yet the People of the Pale were always firm, and Loyal to the Crown, and the greatest strength that *England* had against the *Irish* Nation (for which they were often plentifully Rewarded) 'till in the Year 1641, they all broke loose, which they say was occasioned thus.

Tho' since the first Conquest of *Ireland*, there have been continued feuds in that Kingdom, between the People of both Nations, upon the account, of Interest; yet when the Reformation was once set on foot, the Breach was widen'd upon that account, it being what the Natives of that Country have always endeavoured to destroy, and with it the *English* Interest there; but finding this a very difficult Task, by reason that the old *English* of the Pale, tho' many of them were of the same Religion with the *Irish*, yet they cou'd never be perswaded to stand up for a mere *Irish* Interest, till the *Irish* (in the Province of *Ulster* especially) found out the two following Expedients; first to intermarry with the *English* of the Pale, and to seek all opportunities of making alliance with them; and secondly, to perswade the *English* Gentry always to breed up one of their Sons a Priest, by whom, and their *Irish* Wives, the *English* were managed to that degree, that tho' at the first breaking out of the Rebellion in 1641. they seemed to detest the *Irish* ways of proceeding, yet in a few Months after, a great part of them openly joyned with the *Irish*, and this with the constant troubles in *England*, were the Reasons why that Rebellion was the longest in suppressing, and also the most expensive of any before it, being on foot 12 Years, viz. from the 23d. of October, 1641. un- What Methods
the Irish first
took to make
the old English
joyn with them.

1692. til the 26th. of September, 1653. The Charge to England in suppressing of which, and the loss that the Protestant Party in Ireland sustained during this War, being computed by Sir John Burlace in his History, to amount to Twenty two Millions One Hundred and Ninety One Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty Eight Pounds, Three Shillings, and Three Pence. And others compute the whole Loss, Cost and Charges of the King and Protestant Party to suppress the said Rebellion, to amount to 34480000*l.* And that the English Adventurers who advanced Money upon the Credit of two Acts of Parliament in the Years 41 and 42, paid 70 Years Purchase for that which was not worth above eight, and that the Souldiers paid 115 Years purchase for their Debenters, but those People have a mad way of reckoning in the multiplying several of their particulars.

An Essay towards this. However, as to this last War that we have all seen, I pretend not to so great Skill as to know the Expences of it, only thus far is easily computed,

1. The Army that Landed with Duke Schonberg, and that came some time after into Ireland, with those of the Derry and Inniskillin Troops, received into Pay under his Grace's Command in the Year 1689, being 9 Regiments and 2 Troops of Horse, 4 Regiments of Dragoons, and 30 Regiments of Foot; the whole pay for which in one Year comes to ————— 869410*l.* 7*s.* 06*d.*

2. His Majesty's Royal Army in that Kingdom in the Year 1690, Consisting of 2 Troops of Guards, 23 Regiments of Horse, 5 Regiments of Dragoons, and 46 Regiments of Foot; the Pay of which, considering the difference between the Numbers in the Foreign Regiments and our own, amounts to ————— 1287630*l.* 02*s.* 00*d.*

3. The Army in that Kingdom in the Year 1691. Commanded by Lieutenant General Ginckel, being 20 Regiments of Horse, 5 of Dragoons, and 42 Regiments of

of Foot ; whose Pay for that Year came to — — —

— 1161830 l. 12 s. 10 d.

1692.

Then the General Officers Pay, the Train, Bread, Waggons, Transport Ships, and other Contingencies, make at least as much more, which is

— 6637742 l. 05 s. 00 d.

And the *Irish* Army living for the most part upon the product of the Country, cou'd not cost much less. Besides the farther Destruction of the Protestant Interest in that Kingdom, by cutting down Improvements, burning of Houses, destroying of Sheep and Cattle, taking away of Horses ; with Infinite other Extortions and Robberies, as also the loss of People on both sides ; most of which, however disaffected, yet they were Subjects to the Crown of *England*.

As to the particulars of our and their losses of People in both Armies since the Landing of Duke Schonberg in *Ireland*, the best Computation I have been able to make by comparing Accounts, and conferring on both sides with those that have made some Observations on that matter, the thing runs thus.

A modest Conjecture at the Numbers lost on both sides during the War.

<i>Irish</i> Officers killed	00617
Souldiers killed, belonging to the <i>Irish</i> Army	12676
Rapparees killed by the Army and Militia	01928
Rapparees hanged by Legal Proces, or Court-Marshal	00112
Rapparees killed and hanged by Souldiers and others, without any Ceremony	600
Officers killed in the <i>English</i> Army	00140
Soldiers killed in the Field	02037
Murdered privately by the Rapparees that we had no account where they died	00800
<i>English</i> and Foreign Officers died during the three Campaigns	00320
Souldiers dead in the <i>English</i> Army since our Landing in <i>Ireland</i>	7000 Tho'

1692.

Tho' its to be observed that in the two last Campaigns there died very few except Recruits, and such as died of their Wounds: Nor are we to believe that the *Irish* did not lose a great many by Sickness also, but no doubt the Destruction of the People in the Country wou'd do more than double all these Numbers; so that by the Sword, Famine, and all other accidents, there has perished, since first the *Irish* began to play their mad Pranks, there have died, I say, in that Kingdom, of one sort and another, at least One Hundred Thousand, Young and Old, besides treble the Number that are Ruined and undone.

All which being considered, it's certainly most expedient to find out an Eternal Remedy that the like may never happen again. And this I humbly suppose must not be any endeavour to root out and destroy the *Irish*, but in the advancing the *English* Interest both in Church and State in that Kingdom, so as to make the *Irish* themselves in love with it.

The Interest of England to advance the Power of the Parliament, Judge it the Interest of England to keep Ireland poor and low; and it may seem strange to hear an English Man by Birth (and a meer Stranger to the having any Interest in Ireland) to endeavour the contradicting of it: But in my humble Opinion, whatsoever may be allowed in this, as to the promoting the private Advantages of a great many Trading People, and even Men of Estates in England, which all would suffer by the advancing of these in Ireland, yet it's so far from being the real Interest, either of the Kingdom of England, to cramp Ireland in its Prosperity, that the Wealth and Greatness of Ireland in Trade and Manufactures is to be promoted both by the King and People of England as much as possibly it can. And first, as to the Kings of England, it is the same thing to them whether

whether they have their Customs from *Bristol*, or *Dublin*, from *Cork*, or *Newcastle*, &c. or whether their Levies of Men, when occasion offers, are made in the Counties of *Wicklow*, and *Waterford*, *Cumberland*, or *Yorkshire*, provided the Interest were one and the same in both Kingdoms: And as to the People of *England* in general, one shou'd think it's their business to promote and encourage the Trade and Prosperity of *Ireland*, that thereby it might not only support it self in time of Peace, but defend and maintain it self in War, which nothing but promoting its Trade and Wealth will do: For what *Ireland* cannot do in order to its safety, *England* must supply to prevent its own danger; since if ever a Foreign Enemy Surprize and Possess *Ireland*, especially the *French*, then *England* must maintain a greater Standing Force to secure themselves, than wou'd have secured *Ireland*, if employ'd in its defence; it being no groundless Saying of some Old-fashion'd Poet.

*He that wou'd England win,
Must with Ireland first begin.*

For tho' in former times, when little or no Shipping appear'd upon these narrow Seas, and *France*, and other Countries knew not what it was to have a Fleet, and there was but small Commerce, even between *England* and *Ireland* themselves; yet in this active Age of the World, it wou'd go very hard with *England*, if the *French* shou'd possess *Ireland*, who have all the Harbours from *Dunkirk*, to *Brest*; and if they had *Cork*, *Baltimore*, and *Bantry*, where wou'd our Western Trade be? Besides, by the possessing the Eastern Coasts of *Ireland*, they wou'd surround three parts in four of *England*, and a great part of *Scotland*, and cou'd Invade either when they pleas'd; which wou'd necessitate *England* to be always at the Charge of a Considerable Standing Army, and then farewell both their Wealth, and long enjoy'd Liberty.

And

1692. And so sensible have our Ancestors been of some-
 thing or other to be done in this Affair, that Sir *Henry*
 Sidney, that most excellent Gouvernour, who had spent
 great part of his time in that Kingdom, holding a Par-
 liament there, for a Subsidy, in the Eleventh Year of
 Queen *Elizabeth*, He, with the Lords, and Commons
 in the Preamble to the A&t of Parliament, thus express
 themselves to the Queen. *Considering the infinite masses*
of Treasure able to purchase a Kingdom, that your Noble
Progenitors have exhausted, for the Government, Defence,
and Preservation of Your Majesties Realm of Ireland, &c.

The former Ev-
ils still remain. Which Evils still remaining, the Remedies are as yet
 to be found out, at least to be put in practice; for
 tho' the War be now happily ended, yet there are at
 this day at least three differnt Interests on Foot in that
 Kingdom; the *English*, *Irish*, and *Scots*; the first of
 which, seem to be the least concern'd in their own
 advancement; but the last gain ground daily in the
 North, there being at least Ten Thousand People come
 thither out of *Scotland* within these Twelve Months;
 which in time will make their Party Considerable; for
 the People of *England* live better than the *Scots* at home,
 and so are not so easily invited to look abroad. Whereas
 the *Scots* their part of *Ireland* by this means in a few
 Years is like to be more than it has been. And as to the
Irish, every one sees their indefatigable Industry in pro-
 moting the Interest of their own Party, no discouragements
 being able to blunt, but rather serve to sharpen their en-
 deavours for the effecting of what they believe may be
 some steps towards their future Prosperity, making every
 particular Man's Case a general Grievance, and each assist-
 ing other, as being all concerned in the same general cause,
 whilst the *English*, even in that Country, who still feel
 the smart of their former Calamities, will yet rather sett
 their Lands to an *Irish* Man or a *Scot*, that shall give them
 Sixpence in an Acre more, and never improve it further

than to an *English Farmer*, that, if he had Encouragement, wou'd in a few Years make good Improvements, which will still continue one great reason why *Ireland* will not easily be made an *English Country*.

But I can carry the matter yet higher, and affirm, that it's the real Interest of the *Roman Catholicks of Ireland* The Interest of the Irish Papists themselves to Advance the Power of England. whether of *Irish* or *English* Extraction, to promote that of *England* as much as they can in their Country, if they will but consult the future safety of themselves and their Posterity; since without the support of some other Nation they can never hope of themselves to be an Independent Kingdom; and if they were, we scarcely can find out how they wou'd agree amongst themselves, who should Command, or who Obey, which they never could yet from the beginning do; and what did the *Irish* ever get by accompanying either their Lords or Followers into Rebellion? Or what should they have gotten if the late Attempt had absolutely succeeded, but a more absolute Servitude under the *French*? And therefore it's better for them to have their old *English Friends* they have been so long acquainted with, than run the hazard of either setting up new Tyrants of their own, or having them come to 'em from abroad.

Besides, if the *English Interest* were strong and powerful in *Ireland*, this wou'd cut off the hopes of all disaffected People for ever thinking to withstand it, and wou'd make them reject all Tenders from abroad, and Inticements from their Jesuited Priests at home, and never wou'd they more run such desperate Risks which still fall upon their own heads at last; so that if the *English Interest* were so fortified, that all hopes of removing it were cut off, the *Irish* would not be prevailed upon to make such destructive attempts to themselves and Posterities, as they often have done hitherto by the Insinuations of their Priests, who have nothing to lose, nor Families to provide for, but only hazard the Lives and Fortunes of others that have both.

1692 Since (as Sir William Petty observes) there are, and ever will be in England Men ready for any Exploit and Change, either by being discontented with their present Condition, or otherwise well inclined to the service, more than are sufficient to quell any Insurrection which the Irish can make and abide by: Which wou'd spare both the Blood and Treasure of *England*, if those of that Nation in *Ireland*, cou'd do it of themselves.

Two Objections
answered.

There are only two Objections that I know of, which seem to be considerable against this Opinion of promoting the Trade and Wealth of *Ireland*: The first, that if *Ireland* should be encouraged so far as to make it altogether an *English Country*, it would drain the wealth and Inhabitants of *England* to that degree, that we should impoverish our selves, by putting our Trade into their hands, who wou'd be equal, if not Superior to us in a small time, since their Country lies as Convenient in all respects for Trade as ours, and has several Advantages above it. *Answer.* This would rather encourage *England* to be more industrious in Trade and Manufactures, when they saw their younger Sister of *Ireland*, by having the same privileges of Trade with her self, begin to contend with her in this particular, and would create a profitable emulation amongst the People of both Kingdoms; since I have not that Opinion of Trade, that some People have of Motion; that there's a determinate quantity, and when it fails in one place, it increases in another. There is Trade enough no doubt abroad in the World for them all, if they will but be Industrious; however, there can no disadvantage accrue either to the King of *England*, or his People in general, by having this effected, nay, this wou'd soon be more for the advantage of the Crown of *England*, than any poor Customs that are got by dividing the Nations can ever amount to; for who sees not the good effects of the *Union* between *England*, and *Wales*?

But then those who are so hardy as to leave *England*, and venture their Lives and Fortunes at any time, for the

the reducing of *Ireland*, if they survive it, and once come to settle there, they are so far from having Encouragement to Trade and grow Rich, that by several Laws made on the account of Trade, they are under the same Circumstances with the Conquered *Irish* themselves, as all the *English* of that Kingdom really are in the point of all the *Western* Trade especially.

The other Objection is, That if *Ireland* were so far encouraged in Trade and other Advantages, as to become absolutely an *English* Country, and equally Entitled to the Benefit of its Laws, &c. the People there, after some time wou'd grow Rich, and consequently Proud, so that they wou'd then set up for themselves, and deny all manner of dependance upon *England*, which would soon create a more dangerous Civil War than ever. *Answer*, There can be no fear of this, since nothing cou'd be got by such a Revolt, but their own destruction; and it's as probable, that the *English* on the *North of Trent*, should upon any disgust endeavour to set up for themselves, which they are sensible could bring nothing but Ruin to the whole: Besides, since the Royal Seats of the Kings, the Principal Courts of Judicature, and also the Royal Navy are always on this side the Water, all Attempts of this kind wou'd prove vain and fruitless, and the rest of the World laugh at such a Destructive folly and madness.

I pretend not to meddle with any particular Methods, for the promoting the *English* Interest in *Ireland*, only it's worth the Knowledge, and Care of every one, especially those in places of Authority and Trust; what was in my Lord Barkley's Instructions (Dated May 21 (1690.) relating to Matters of Religion. *That forasmuch as all good Success doth rest upon the Service of God, above all things you are to settle good Orders in the Church, that God may be better served in the True Established Religion, and the People by that means reduc'd from their Errors.*

*Religion in the
first Place to be
taken care of.*

1692. But whilst the *Irish* are in the Power of the *Romish* Clergy, they keep them in such Awe and Ignorance, that they scarce dare, or can enquire into the differences in Religion, nor Read the Scriptures, or yet confer with any Protestant Divine, so that all they generally know of Religion (I speak of the Vulgar Sort) is some Fabulous Legends of the Priests Invention, or that their Fathers or Families were of that Persuasion, and so must they be also: But tho' they be much given to Lying, yet they are not in the main so ill-natured as some People make them, since they own our Baptism and other Institutions to be Essential, and will of their own accords come to us, when they have not the conveniency of a Priest, several instances of which, I could give of my own Knowledge.

There are a great many very Learned, Pious, and Devout Clergymen of the Protestant Church in *Ireland*, discharging the Duties of their Function, with such Religious and Godly Sincerity, as becomes the Messengers of Christ: But there being a great many Impro- priations in that Kingdom; and by this means, half a score Parishes in some places, not able to afford one Hundred Pounds *per Annum* to a Minister, this has given occasion for the Union of several Parishes, and not only so, but for frequent Pluralities, and that in several places, very much to the disadvantage of the Church, by which means there are a great many Parishes Inhabited only with Papists, which for that Reason are generally called *Sine Cures*, as if the Minister had no Business there at all. But this I can by no means Subscribe unto, since to me they seem to be the clean contrary, and not impossible to remedy, by finding out some means to allow each Minister a Competency, and then oblige him to reside upon it; whether his Parishioners be *Papists* or *Protestants*; since the Living among those People, and the frequent Conversation with them, wou'd be of more force than all the Penal Laws in *Christendom*.

There

There was a view of *Ireland*, writ by *Spencer*, as I take it, towards the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and amongst other things, he has this Remarque. *Several Irish Families* (says he) are already become English, and more would, if the English would do their parts, in supplying the Country with Learned, Pious, and painful Preachers, who co'd Out-Preach, and Out-Live the Irish Priests: For Religion must not be forcibly imposed upon them with Terrors and sharp Penalties (as now is the manner) but rather delivered and intimated with Mildness and Gentleness, so as it may not be hated before it be understood, which yet is not so difficult a Task as some People make it, for if the Ancient Godly Fathers, who first Converted them, when they were Infidels, to the Faith, were able to pull them from Idolatry and Paganism, to the true Belief of Christ (as St. Patrick and St. Columb) how much more easily shall Godly Teachers bring them to the Understanding of that, which they already Profess; if they did but shew as much Zeal in dissuading them from their Errors, as the Priests do Care and Industry to keep them in them.

However, thusfar *Spencer* seems to be in the right of it; That True Religion is not to be planted by Penal Laws, or the Terroir of Punishment, which may fill a Church with Temporizing Hypocrites, but never with Sincere Professors; for tho' Humane Laws are a good Hedge about Religion, and an Encouragement to Virtue, yet that which is solely founded upon such, binds the Conscience no longer than those Laws are in force.

But what I am sorry to see so true, is, that *Idleness* is the *malus Genius* of that Kingdom, and except you can persuade the People to be Industrious too, as well as Religious, you are not much nearer the matter, for they are Naturally a lazy Crew, and love nothing so much as their ease, and if an *Irishman* has but a Cow and a Potoe Garden, it's all the Wealth he commonly aspires to; which

1692. which way of Feeding, a great many give for the Reason, that they are generally so mean Spirited, for you'll see them in Companies lye loytering in the Streets of any Country Village, or by the High-way sides, enquiring after, and telling News to one another, but not one in twenty, either at work in the Fields, or otherways Honestly employ'd, which is the Reason, that at this very day, most of the Goals of the Kingdom are filled with Thieves, and the Streets with incredible numbers of importunate houling Beggars, who yet most of them had rather Live so than otherways.

But I'm afraid, a great many People will think I have been too busie, and therefore I have only this to say further; that notwithstanding all the Wagers, that have been proffer'd of late, whether *Ireland* would not be in the *French* King's Hands by such a time; I dare freely venture one of as great value as I am able, that tho' he begin to morrow, it will not be in his Power, with all the Force he can spare to take it, from that handful of Men left in that Kingdom for its security, these Seven Years, for if the *Irish*, who were but indifferently provided for at best, were able to hold it out so long, against all the Power and Strength of *England*; what can Men that have better Supplies, and full as good Hearts do?

An Invasion from France upon any of the three Kingdoms not very practicable at this time. And as for those vain hopes of that unhappy Party, who are still buoyed up with the Fancy of the *French* King's Greatness, and that he will at some time or other, certainly make an Invasion, either upon *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*; any who know what War means, can assure them, that it's much sooner said than done. For if his present Majesty of *England*, was obliged to employ nigh 600 Vessels, when at his first coming he Transported only 14000 Men into this Kingdom; and if the *Irish* War has for Three Years past, employed such a considerable number of Transport Ships in that narrow Channel, between *England* and *Ireland*, which lye so conveniently

ently and contiguous one to another; what Provision must needs be made in *France* for such an Attempt, as an Invasion upon any of the Three Kingdoms, which if it miscarries, they are certainly undone? For suppose the *French* still a match for our Fleet (which I hope they will never be now whilst the World stands) and the *French* Invasion designed upon *England*, tho' there be a Factious and unnaturally discontented Party there, that are no well wishers to the present Government, yet there are so many Loyal and True Hearted *English-Men* still left at home, that all the Ships in *France* are not able to Transport Men enough from thence to subdue them, since we know their affection to both the *French* and *Irish*; that are with them, should they once indeavour to look into *England*, whose Strength is in the Hearts and Affections of the People, intirely devoted to Their Majesties Service.

I allow that 20000 well Disciplin'd and Experienc'd Men are able to beat four times the number of Raw unexperienc'd Country People, but then I leave the *English* Standing Army, and a well Disciplined Militia, especially in and about the City of *London*, to shew how unwelcome the *French* wou'd be to them.

And as for *Scotland*, its Soyl in most places is Naturally poor and barren, and an Army of Foreigners Landed there, must either eat Heath or one another in a small time, if once they leave the Coast; for admit they have Provisions brought by Sea into their Harbours, yet the Country in few places is so level as to admit of either a marching Train of Artillery, or of Provision Waggons, which an Army has no Business any where without, and soon wou'd look very foolish for want of, suppose but an indifferent Enemy to oppose them.

Then as for an Invasion to be made upon *Ireland*; the Country is already so destroyed by being the Seat of War, that whosoever attempts it, must bring all from abroad likewise, as well Horses as Provisions, which is

1692.

no easie Task of it self, suppose no opposition either at Sea or in the Country; but then our Garrisons especially upon the Coasts, are made so strong to our Hands by the *Irish* themselves by the help and directions of the best *French* Engineers, and are Manned with part of an Experienced and Victorious Army, that it will not be the work of a few days to pick any of them out of our hands, since there is Ammunition, Artillery, and Provisions suitable to each Garrison's Necessities.

And as an advantage to the established standing Army now in *Ireland*, consisting of Colonel *Woolfley's* Horse, Colonel *Wynns*, and Colonel *Eiklin's* Dragoons, Sir *Jo. Hanmer's*, *Briggdeer Stuart's*, Colonel *Gustavus Hambleton's*, Earl of *Droghedi's*, Sir *Henry Bellis*, Colonel *Roe's*, Colonel *Cort's*, Colonel *St. John's*, Colonel *Mulherns*, and Colonel *Creighton's* Foot, besides Colonel *Frederick Hambleton's*, and three *French* Regiments, all upon the *Irish* Establishment, as also the Earl of *Donegal's* Foot, and Colonel *Cunningham's* Dragoons now raising; besides all these, I say, what deserves no mean Character, is the Militia of *Ireland*, being formerly at least Twenty Five Thousand Men, and tho' they cannot make so many now, this War having destroy'd a great many Protestants, yet whoever serve now upon that account, are all well Armed and Experienced Active Men, which circumstances being all known to *France*, they will scarce hazard all upon such uncertainties. (Suppose they were really at leisure to do it,) as an Invasion upon any of their Majesties Dominions must needs prove.

ARE not up
on the last that
endeavoured it

It may also be remembred, that the *Spaniards* in the Year 1588, had not only a great mind to *Ireland*, but with a powerful Army endeavoured also to Invade *England*; in which Attempt, their loss was so considerable, that they have not as yet recover'd it: And the disappointment that the *French* King met withall the very last Year, in such another undertaking, gives us more than ordinary hopes, that thro' God's blessing, it will always so be done to the Enemies of *England*.

FINIS.

